177 Toda AW60
439
648

[For information on traditional interdependence with the Badaga AW50, see 2: Hockings, Category 177, pp. 111, 117, and 118-122, Category 648, pp. 111-116, and 118-119, and Category 439, pp. 116-118 and 121-122.]

177 Kota AW51
439

[For information on traditional interdependence with the Badaga AW50, see 2: Hockings, Category 177, pp. 99-105 and 107-110 and Category 178, pp. 105 and 106.]

177 Kurumba AW56
439
648

[For information on traditional interdependence with the Badaga AW50, see 2: Hockings, Category 177, pp. 123-126, Category 648, pp. 122-124, and Category 439, pp. 124 and 126.]

●177 Toda AW60
439
648

[For information on traditional interdependence with the Badaga AW50, see 2: Hockings, Category 177, pp. 111, 117, and 118-122, Category 648, pp. 111-116, and 118-119, and Category 439, pp. 116-118 and 121-122.]

● 177

[For additional information on culture contact, see Category 178.]

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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184 by other Badagas, but they do not employ the services of a Kurumba.

241 796 177 Important agricultural ceremonies are performed by the Badagas at the time of sowing and harvest. The seed-sowing ceremony takes place in March, and, in some places, *e.g.*, the Mēkanād and Paranginād, a Kurumba plays an important part in it. On an auspicious day—a Tuesday before the crescent moon—a pūjāri of the Devvē temple sets out several hours before dawn with five or seven kinds of grain in a basket and sickle, accompanied by a Kurumba, and leading a pair of bullocks with a plough. On reaching the field selected, the pūjāri pours the grain into the cloth of the Kurumba, and, yoking the animals to the plough, makes three furrows in the soil. The Kurumba, stopping the bullocks, kneels on the ground between the furrows facing east. Removing his turban, he places it on the ground, and, closing his ears with his palms, bawls out "Dho, Dho," thrice. He then rises, and scatters the grain thrice on the soil. The pūjāri and Kurumba then return to the village, and the former deposits what remains of the grain in the store-room (attu). A new pot, full of water, is placed in the milk-house, and the pūjāri dips his right hand therein, saying "Nerathubitta" (it is full). This ceremony is an important one for the Badagas, as, until it has been performed, sowing may not commence. It is a day of feasting, and, in addition to rice, *Dolichos Lablab* is cooked.

241 796 The other agricultural ceremony is called Devvē habba or tenai (*Setaria italica*), and is usually celebrated in June or July, always on a Monday. It is apparently performed in honour of the two gods Mahālingaswāmi and Hiriya Udaya, to whom a group of villages will have temples dedicated. For example, the Badagas in

241 796 the neighbourhood of Kotagiri have their Hiriya Udaya temple at Tāndanād, and Mahālingaswāmi temple at Kannērmukku. This Devvē festival, which should on no account be pronounced duvve, which means burning-ground, is celebrated at one place, whither the Badagas from other villages proceed, to take part in it. About midday, some Badagas and the temple pūjāri go from the temple of Hiriya Udaya to that of Mahālingaswāmi.

(177) The procession is usually headed by a Kurumba, who scatters fragments of tūd bark and wood as he goes (182) on his way. The pūjāri takes with him the materials necessary for doing pūja, and, after worshipping Mahālingaswāmi, the party return to the Hiriya Udaya temple, where milk and cooked rice are offered to the various gods within the temple precincts. On the following day, all assemble at the temple, and a Kurumba brings a few sheaves of *Setaria italica*, and ties them to a stone set up at the main entrance. After this, pūja is done, (612) and the people offer cocoanuts to the god. Later on, all the women of the Madhave sept, who have given birth to a first-born child, come, dressed up in holiday attire, with their babies, to the temple. On this day they wear a special nose ornament, called elemukkuththi, which is only worn on one other occasion, at the funeral of a husband. The women do pūja to Hiriya Udaya, and the pūjāri gives them a small quantity of rice on mīnige (*Argyreia*) leaves. After eating this, they leave the temple in a line, and wash their hands with water given to them by the pūjāri. This ceremonial, performed by women of the Madhave sept, is called Mandēdhanda. As soon as the Devvē festival is concluded, the reaping of the crop commences, and a measure or two of grain from the crop gathered on the first day, called nīsal, is set apart for the Mahālingaswāmi temple.

front of the temple, one shouting 'How-ko, How-ko,' and the other 'Is-hōli.' The dance was taught them by the Todas, and the words are Toda."

In connection with the Jadeswāmi festival the ceremony of walking through fire [burning embers] is carried out at Mēlūr, Tangālu, Mainelē, Jakkanāre, Tenād, and Nidugala. At Mēlūr and Tangālu, the temples belong to the Hāruvas, who carry out all the details of ceremony. The temple at Tenād is owned by the Udayas, by whom the ceremonial is performed. In other places, the celebrants are Badagas. The festival is observed, on an elaborate scale, at Nidugala during the month of January. All those who are going to walk over the burning embers fast for eight days, and go through the rite on the ninth day. For its performance, Monday is considered an auspicious day. The omens are taken by boiling two pots of milk side by side on two hearths. If the milk overflows uniformly on all sides, the crops will be abundant for all the villages. But, if it flows over on one side only, there will be plentiful crops for villages on that side only. The space over which the embers are spread is said to be about five yards long, and three yards broad. But, in some places, *e.g.*, Jakkanāre and Mēlūr, it is circular as at the Muhammadan fire-walking ceremony. For making the embers, the wood of *Eugenia Jambolana* and *Phyllanthus Emblica* are used. For boiling the milk, and setting fire to the wood, a light obtained by friction must be used. The process is known as niligolu, or upright stick. The vertical stick is made of a twig of *Rhodomyrtus tomentosus*, which is rotated in a socket in a long thick piece of a bough of *Debregeasia velutina*, in which a row of sockets has been made. The rotation is produced by a cord passed several times round the vertical stick, of

which each end is pulled alternately. The horizontal block is pressed firmly on the ground by the toes of a man, who presses a half cocoanut shell down on the top of the vertical stick, so as to force it down into the socket. A Badaga, who failed in an attempt to demonstrate the making of fire by this method, gave as an excuse that he was under worldly pollution, from which he would be free at the time of the fire-walking ceremony. Though the Badagas make fire by friction, reference is made in their folk legends, not to this mode of obtaining fire, but to chakkamukki (flint and steel), which is repeatedly referred to in connection with cremation. After the milk boiling ceremonial, the pūjāri, tying bells on his legs, approaches the fire pit, carrying milk freshly drawn from a cow, which has calved for the first time, and flowers of *Rhododendron arboreum*, *Leucas aspera*, or jasmine. After doing pūja, he throws the flowers on the embers, and they should remain unscorched for a few seconds. He then pours some of the milk over the embers, and no hissing sound shoud be produced. The omens being propitious, he walks over the glowing embers, followed by an Udaya, and the crowd of celebrants, who, before going through the ordeal, count the hairs on their feet. If any are singed, it is a sign of approaching ill fortune, or even death. In an account of the fire-walking ceremony, in 1902, it is noted that "the Badagas strongly repudiate the insinuation of preparing their feet to face the fire ordeal. It is done to propitiate Jeddayswāmi, to whom vows are invoked, in token of which they grow one twist or plait of hair, which is treasured for years, and finally cut off as an offering to Jeddayswāmi. Numbers of Chettis were catering to the crowd, offering their wares, bangles, gay-coloured handkerchiefs, as well as edibles. The Kotas supplied the music, and an

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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ancient patriarch worked himself up to a high pitch of inspiration, and predicted all sorts of good things for the Badagas with regard to the ensuing season and crops."

The following legend, relating to the fire-walking ceremony, is recorded by Bishop Whitehead. "When they first began to perform the ceremony fifty or sixty years ago, they were afraid to walk over the fire. Then the stone image of Mahālinga Swāmi turned into a snake, and made a hole through the temple wall. It came out, and crawled over the fire, and then went back to the temple. Then their fear vanished, and they walked over the embers. The hole is still to be seen in the temple."

Of the fire-walking ceremony at Mēlūr, the following account is given in the Gazetteer of the Nīlgiris. "It takes place on the Monday after the March new moon, just before the cultivation season begins, and is attended by Badagas from all over Mērkunād. The inhabitants of certain villages (six in number), who are supposed to be the descendants of an early Badaga named Guruvajja, have first, however, to signify through their Gottukārs, or headmen, that the festival may take place; and the Gottukārs choose three, five, or seven men to walk through the fire. On the day appointed, the fire is lit by certain Badaga priests and a Kurumba. The men chosen by the Gottukārs then bathe, adorn themselves with sandal, do obeisance to the Udayas of Udayarhatti near Kēti, who are specially invited and feasted; pour into the adjacent stream milk from cows which have calved for the first time during the year; and, in the afternoon, throw more milk and some flowers from the Mahālingasvāmi temple into the fire pit, and then walk across it. Earth is next thrown on the embers, and they walk across

763 other to fee the guardian of the fairy-like bridge that
(775) spans the dreaded tide. If sense remains to the wretched man, he knows that now his death is nigh. Despair and the gold make recovery impossible, and there are none who have swallowed the Birianhana, and yet have
(775) lived. If insensibility or deathly weakness make it impossible for the coin to pass the thorax, it is carefully bound in cloth, and tied to the right arm, so that there may be nought to hinder the passage of a worthy soul
(538) into the regions of the blessed." The giving of the coin to the dying man is apparently an important item, and, in the Badaga folk-tales, a man on the point of death is
764 made to ask for a Vīrarāya fanam. When life is extinct, the corpse is kept within the house until the erection of the funeral car (gudikattu) is completed. Though Gover states that the burning must not be delayed more than twenty-four hours, at the present day the Badagas postpone the funeral till all the near relations have assembled, even if this necessitates the keeping of the corpse for two or three days. Cremation may take place on any day,
763 except Tuesday. News of a death is conveyed to distant
• 177 hamlets (hattis) by a Toreya, who is paid a rupee for his services. On approaching a hamlet, he removes his turban, to signify the nature of his errand, and, standing on the side of a hill, yells out "Dho! Dho! who is in the hamlet"? Having imparted his news, he proceeds on
764 his journey to the next hamlet. On the morning of the day fixed for the funeral, the corpse is taken on a charpoy or native cot to an open space, and a buffalo led thrice round it. The right hand of the corpse is then lifted up, and passed over the horns of the buffalo. A little milk is drawn, and poured into the mouth of the corpse. Prior to this ceremony, two or three buffaloes may be let loose, and one of them captured, after the

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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days. 'Nearly three thousand females, and six thousand males, assembled on Thursday. To crown all the confusion, there appeared nearly a thousand Badagas armed with new mamotis (spades). They came on dancing for some distance, rushed into the crowd, and danced round the car. These Badagas belonged to a gang of public works, local fund, and municipal maistries. On the last day a sheep was slaughtered in honour of the deity. The musicians throughout the festivities were Kotas and Kurumbas. The dancing of the men of three score showed that they danced to music, and the stepping was admirable, while the dancing of young men did not show that they had any idea of dancing, or either taste or knowledge of music. They were merely skipping and jumping. This shows that the old art of the Badaga dance is fast decaying." The cot is eventually burnt at the burning-ground, as if it contained a corpse.

A kind of edible truffle (*Mylitta lapidescens*) is known as little man's bread on the Nīlgiris. The Badaga legendary name for it is Pāndva-unna-buthi, or dwarf bundle of food,* *i.e.*, food of the dwarfs, who are supposed once to have inhabited the Nīlgiris and built the pāndu kūlis or kistvaens.

The story goes that Lord Elphinstone, a former Governor of Madras, was anxious to build a residence at Kaiti. But the Badagas, who had on the desired site a sacred tree, would not part with the land. The Governor's steward succeeded in making the Badaga headman drunk, and secured, for a rental of thirty-five rupees annually, the site, whereon a villa was built, which now belongs to the Basel Mission.†

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* Report, Government Botanic Gardens, Nilgiris, 1903.

† E. Schmidt. Reise nach Sudindien, 1894.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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101 small district of Tamil Nadu, altogether covering 2543 sq. km. This
(631) is the homeland of the Badaga, Toda, Kota and Kurumba communities; nowadays numerous other peoples also live there.

133 The plateau is generally in the elevation of 2000–2500 m., and one peak, Doddabetta, among the highest in peninsular India, reaches 2633 m. In contrast to this the western quarter of the district averages around 1000 m. in elevation and forms a major
(361) portion of the Wainad Plateau. The main indigenous communities there are the Panias, Kurumbas, Nayakas and Chettis, but there are also a few Badagas (Wainad Gaudas) and Kotas.

The escarpment of the Nilgiri Plateau falls away very steeply, and on the eastern edge actually drops some 2000 m. in about
(137) 3 km. These slopes always have been covered in dense subtropical
(136) jungle which harbours tigers, leopards, buffaloes, elephants, snakes and malarial mosquitoes, and formerly dangerous hunting tribes
(175) still feared for their sorcery. Until the advent of the British early in the nineteenth century the three communities living on the summit of these hills—Badagas, Kotas and Todas—were therefore extremely isolated.

132 The undulating, unevenly wooded downland making up the entire plateau experiences considerable variation in rainfall. The
(133) Nilgiris receive from 60 to 160 inches of rain annually, depending on the topographical aspect. Western parts of the plateau rely mainly on the southwest monsoon in July and August; the eastern parts derive much of their rain from the northeastern monsoon in October-December. The average mean daily temperature in the centre of the plateau is around 15°C, while in the Wainad the climate is much hotter and wetter.

175 For the mildly invigorating qualities of its climate the plateau is
● 177 therefore scarcely rivalled anywhere in the Asian tropics, and from 1819 British residents began to take advantage of this healthful
(361) region. Soon the towns of Coonoor, Kotagiri and Ootacamund (the district headquarters), and the military station at Wellington, took shape and expanded. More recently the town of Gudalur (Gudalu:ru) has grown up in the Wainad, at the foot of the western
(631) escarpment. Ootacamund, Coonoor and Gudalur are now the headquarters of the three administrative divisions or *taluks* into which the district was divided by the British.

THE NILGIRI POPULATION

When the British began to settle on the plateau they brought with

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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them a great variety of Tamilian, Mysorean, Malabari and other dependents, including a few Eurasians. With this contact people of southern India began to learn about the strange men, scarcely Hindus, who already inhabited these hills. Immigrants began to find labouring jobs on the tea and coffee plantations from the 1840s; and as they took up this new occupation they brought the indigenous Nilgiri tribes into closer contact with the traditions and practices of South Indian Hinduism. Today the plantations are the main source of the district income, and they attract an ever-increasing number of migrant labourers from elsewhere in South India. In 1971 there were some 370,000 immigrants living in the Nilgiris, three-quarters of the total population (see Appendix 1).

These immigrants belong to a wide range of castes. Normally, while maintaining occupational roles in Nilgiri society, they also attempt to continue the behaviour that distinguishes their own castes and try to keep up social ties with their places of origin. From the point of view of the indigenous communities, however, these caste distinctions are of little importance: immigrants are classified under seven rough headings—Tamilians, Kanarese, Andhras, Malayalis, Christians, Moslems and Europeans (lit. 'Kings'). The indigenous people are aware that there are caste divisions within these categories but are unconcerned with them; and as the immigrants are classed according to mother-tongue or religious creed, they are not even organized by the local residents into a simple caste hierarchy. It is true that Andhras, for example, are thought to have an inferior status; but this is because they are nearly always day-labourers for the Nilgiri farmers. Their low status, like that of other labourers, is determined by their poverty and poor education rather than by their caste affiliations. There *is* a status hierarchy in the Nilgiris, but it has economic and educational determinants that should not be confused with the ritual determinants of caste ranking elsewhere in India.

Except among Todas, Kotas and Europeans, the rate of population growth in this district has been remarkably high: for the decade 1961–1971 it was a staggering 38%, attributable to continuing immigration as well as to the increase of births over deaths. This greatly surpasses the State average of 22.3% and the all-India figure of 24.8%. This demographic factor, together with a high rate of literacy and the fact that plantations make this one of the wealthier districts in southern India, indicates that the Nilgiris are by no means typical of rural India. Indeed they tend towards

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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177 178 the upper extreme for the nation in population growth, volume of immigration, natural wealth, and—most important—rural literacy, education, and knowledge of the outside world.

NOTES

121 1. I have not adopted the popular but chauvinistic approach of seeking out the Aryan, Dravidian or autochthonous elements in Badaga culture—in my view, a sterile and simplistic exercise.

681 626 2. An ostracized person would not live in the jungle, but would look for a distant hamlet where he might be accepted; see below, p. 171, 198.

[p. 10 is blank]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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'Because of the trouble that the Mohammedan made for us . . . we have come, making ourselves to escape. This country is yours . . . We are helpless. You must help us.' Such is the Kota version. In response a council of Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas allowed the Badagas to settle provided they paid the now-customary tribute to these tribes (Harkness, 1832, 106–107; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 735–754; Rhiem, 1900, 498; Emeneau, 1946, 257; see below, 113–116). Not all Badagas migrated within a generation or two, and while some may have been fleeing from Moslem soldiers other bands came later for other reasons.

Clearly there were several waves of immigrants brought sometimes by famine conditions, sometimes by Moslem attempts at forcible conversion, sometimes perhaps by a Mysorean policy to colonize the hills. The Kotas are explicit that once a few Badagas had arrived more came over the succeeding years (Belli Gowder, 1938–1941, 3; Emeneau, 1946, 259). The early explorers Ward (1821) and Harkness (1832) both recorded that the people had settled over many years, and Ward added that some had been 'invited' there by the chieftains of Ummattu:r, under whose suzerainty the Nilgiris had rested for a period. This story suggests that some Badagas, refugees from famine rather than Islam, had settled in the hills as part of a pacification programme aimed at increasing the revenue there.[10] Others, it is popularly believed, fled from Moslem rulers who wanted to marry or seduce good-looking Hindu girls. In search of refuge from this threat they travelled up to 150 km. On reaching the hills the women were given facial tattoos and dressed in white cloths (as they still are) to resemble Kota women, while men adopted the Toda shawl for greater warmth: in effect a conscious and lasting attempt was made to resemble the hill tribes and to adopt a tribal model of social organization.[11]

The early pattern of occupancy was one of scattered homesteads in widely separated parts of the plateau. These clusters of small wooden huts grew into lineage centres and so into villages, usually maintaining strict exogamy. Until the advent of *Pax Britannica* in the early nineteenth century, the houses were built around three sides of a plaza, with its open side facing downhill for defensive purposes. Today only De:na:du preserves that plan; the other villages, of which there are about 370, are made up of several parallel lines of houses running along a hillside. Traditionally the senior brother among the patrilineal descendants of the founder

175 succeeded in adapting to their new social and geographic environ-
174 ment. We may presume that natural selection helped the popula-
tion build up a genetic resistance to whatever montane illnesses had not previously affected the people when they were living in Mysore and that some lowland disease organisms were no longer able to survive at the new elevation, either because it was too high and cold for them or because the hosts among the scattered and tiny population died off without transferring these organisms to new hosts, or more probably because the population density was so low that, after one infection by any particular disease organism, antibodies were built up that protected all Badagas from any further infection in the near future. As the settlements expanded, the increasing numbers of people permitted greater transference of disease organisms and called for greater amounts of health care; but at the same time these settlements, located in most parts of the Nilgiri Plateau within a zone that lay between 1,200m and 2,200m feet elevation, gave people opportunities to select the more healthy residential sites, to explore micro-environmental differences in the area and most importantly to discover medicinal uses for dozens of new species of plants that were in many instances confined to the Plateau. We may presume that the pharmacological uses of local plants were discovered by Badaga women who worked as goat-herds and closely observed the feeding habits of their animals. While it is true that Badagas do not keep goats today, they did so during the seventeenth century and later too.

175 After contact with the British a new equilibrium with their
• 177 changed environment was achieved by the Badagas, and their
164 population was able to increase rapidly for several decades while there was still a very low density of population. Why? One relevant factor, I would hypothesise, was that a change in their drinking habits followed the arrival of the British (from 1819 onward) and that this was associated with greater resistance to bacteria in the
[272] drinking water. The main drinks of the community at the time
[273] were fresh milk and stream water. Yet by the 1840s arrack, a locally made liquor, as well as tea and coffee, were common Badaga preferences. Other cultural practices confined infectious bacteria to relatively limited areas. Buffalo dung tended to collect
[514] in the stone kraals built just outside the villages. Similarly, indiscriminate spitting was not tolerated and spittoons were consequently in common use. A proverb stressed that, 'If you ask for an obligation it is essential to see the right people; it is essential

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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to spit in the proper place.' With this attitude prevalent, the spread of various viruses and of *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* has been greatly curtailed. The regular washing of the body and shaving of pubic hair have also contributed to health by restricting the incidence of bodily fungi and lice-borne diseases.

The ecological significance of these various beliefs and practices is that as the Nilgiri population increased in the nineteenth century and some village streams began to be polluted by this new pressure, the Badagas managed to avoid some contamination by switching from drinking stream water and fresh milk to tea, coffee and sometimes alcohol, all of which would be relatively free of bacterial organisms. The new balance with the environment that this change brought about was certainly one factor in the remarkable increase in the Badaga population since the advent of the British (Appendix 2).

At the same time that this change in drinking habits was occurring their eating habits were undergoing an equally radical transformation. In part this was due to the several dozen types of fruit, grain and vegetable introduced from Europe by British settlers and adopted by most Badagas. The variety of their diet was thus greatly increased.

VILLAGE NAMES

A study of the present Badaga hamlet names yields a body of insights about the early settlements formed during the two and a half centuries preceding the first British report (Keys, 1812).

Perhaps a somewhat lyrical description of the Nilgiri Plateau may at this point aid the reader's understanding of what is to follow:

> The plateau is a true tableland, its average height being very uniform. But there is not a square mile of level ground in the whole of it, its surface being broken by endless undulations which in places swell into considerable and distinct ranges. It rises most abruptly from the plains below it; and on the west, above the Ouchterlony Valley and southwards, its sides are often sheer, bare walls, hundreds of feet in height and too steep even for trees to obtain a footing on them. Elsewhere dense forest covers almost the whole of its slopes . . .
>
> It is first of all divided east and west into two fairly equal but

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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243 The most common grain is what the natives call Korrali, which ... grows best in the colder districts Kundenad and Mekanad where the other finer grains do not grow.

Sāmé ... which is considered the best kind of the several small grains of the Hills. It grows in the warmer districts and must have better soil.

Tenney or Navoney ... which also grows only in warm places ...

Varagu ... which grows only on the slopes of the Hills in feverish places and requires ... a warmer climate, than the Hill plateau affords.

Ragy ... grows also only in places where the cold Monsoon wind cannot come ... (Metz, 1864, 152–153)

In general a careful observer, the Rev. Metz (who roamed the plateau daily for a quarter of a century) mentions here *baragu* and *ra:gi*, two species that were cultivated mainly by Kurumbas and Irulas on the lower slopes because of the greater warmth needed. Though grown occasionally in the lowest Badaga hamlets, neither was an important crop. The other three species were the main subsistence crops for Badagas.

175 We are led to the conclusion that the Badagas displaced Kurumbas and perhaps some Todas as well in the zone which they 177 made their own, and which was best suited to dry cultivation of 361 their millets. While the upper limits of the zone were apparently determined by the viability of these millets, the lower limits may [182] have been determined not by horticultural requirements but by the elevation above which malarial parasites will not breed, about 1,000 meters. (The full development of the *plasmodium* parasites in mosquito requires a minimum daily temperature of 60°F (15.6°C), which is only maintained at the lower elevations relegated to the Kurumbas, Irulas and others.) In the mid-nineteenth century Hodgson (1856, 499–500) noted plateau sites 'where formerly Kurumba villages existed but where none are now found. It is well known that the Kurumbas were driven down from the healthful summit to the malarious slope of the hills. ...'

318 Not only did the Badaga settlers displace residents from these [175] several tribes: they also removed much forest cover and radically changed the Nilgiri ecology, in the view of many experts, well before the first British planters arrived in the eighteen-forties.

There can be little question that these tracts, which are now

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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MOIETIES

Some societies, among them the Todas and Australian aborigines, have only two phratries, which are then called moieties. Other societies, notably in the lowland areas of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal, have a number of endogamous phratries ranked into long-lasting social hierarchies; such units, called *jatis* or subcastes, may summate to castes or to *jati*-clusters (cf. Mandelbaum, 1970, *passim*).

Badaga society, consisting of forty-four clans and ten phratries, is now in the anomalous position of being to some extent a moiety organization, to some extent a *jati* organization. This situation has arisen, I suggest, because two different models have been available to the Badagas for emulation, a Brahminic one known to them from lowland caste society and—unique in India—a tribal one represented by Toda social organization. Their situation became yet more complex when in the nineteenth century Westernization also began, and a tenth Christian phratry grew out of six of the others. This complexity has not been properly appreciated, for though several earlier writers have described Badaga society as a hierarchy of subcastes none has considered it to have moieties. Yet the neighbouring Todas possess a well-known moiety system. In their case there are now sixteen exogamous patrilineal clans, six in Teivali (töwfily) moiety and ten in Tarthar (to:ɪθas). The two moieties are endogamous, and Tarthar has a ritual superiority over Teivali which is expressed by ownership of the most sacred grades of temple and buffalo; the priests who sacrifice buffalo calves belong to Teivali.[2]

The Badagas show much more cultural diversity than the Todas, largely as an effect of having come at various times from different places and from varying caste and religious backgrounds. Nevertheless we may consider them (at least for the sake of argument) to have two well-defined, culturally heterogeneous moieties—one vegetarian, the other not. As we have already seen, the act of eating meat placed some ancestral groups definitively in one moiety, where they have since remained. In this connexion it is worth noting that while both Toda moieties are vegetarian, it is only the priests of the lower moiety (Teivali) who kill calves and also the more sacred buffaloes sacrificed at a funeral. A further parallel between the two societies is that, just as Todas of Teivali moiety have to perform certain priestly functions for Tarthar, so

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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men in the Ha:ruva and Wodea clans perform a priestly role only for clans of the other Badaga moiety. Among Todas a kind of secondary marriage is permissible between the otherwise endogamous moieties (Rivers, 1906, 699-700); among Badagas formal marriage may sometimes occur between the usually endogamous moieties, provided that the man or woman from the meat-eating moiety abstain from meat while in the presence of the vegetarian spouse. It is important to note that the present trend in Badaga society is towards total endogamy of each moiety: Ha:ruva, Adikiri and Kaggusi marriage with Gaudas has been decreasing in this century, and Lingayats now avoid marrying into the Ha:ruva families which also have marriage connexions with Gaudas; yet hypogamy and hypergamy are both still permissible. Were the Badagas moving towards a caste model of society, one might expect hypogamy to disappear (since it is not usual in caste societies) and further culinary distinctions to be adopted. For example, distinctions might then be made, as elsewhere in India, between those who eat beef, those who take mutton but no beef, those eating eggs but no meat and those solely vegetarian. Yet no such complication is emerging: people are strengthening the boundary between households of vegetarian and of non-vegetarian diet, but no finer distinctions are drawn. The moiety of vegetarians includes all of the clans noted for their religious orthodoxy, while the larger non-vegetarian moiety includes most of the better educated, somewhat westernized and economically influential families.

SEPTS

The Badaga clans are reputedly distributed among sixteen septs which, it is asserted, cross-cut all of South Indian society. In their theory every clan of every Hindu caste is affiliated to one or more exogamous *kolas;* the Badaga clans were of the same *kolas* even before leaving Mysore, and indeed fourteen of their *kolas* are still identifiable among Mysore castes. *Kola* has thus to be defined as a sept or patrilineal descent group, 'a group of persons, all of whom believe themselves to be related, owning some relation to an object animate or inanimate, and exhibiting the taboo-behaviour towards it.... There does not appear to be any larger organisation comprising the various kulas (Srinivas, 1942, 32). Their distribution, according to Badaga elders, is as follows:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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couple of centuries ago, the Badagas adopted a caste model of society (or revived memories of the old Mysorean one) and attempted with only moderate success to fit their collection of lineages to it: indeed this perhaps was the act of synoecism. The inadequate fit that they achieved is reflected both in recent shifts in the ranking and in the ambiguous position that the claim to Brahminic status has brought to the Ha:ruvas. This group long ago adopted the 'sacred' thread,[5] a vegetarian diet and the role of priests, but they have no initiation ceremony, no *śra:ddha* for the dead and—having been illiterate—no Sanskrit or other holy writings. In the mid-nineteenth century they were still quite ignorant of Hindu scriptures, (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). They now find themselves caught between two models, as it were, for while they are trying to develop the image of orthodox Brahmins other Badagas find that model much less appealing then a new westernizing model upheld by Christians and by the large, dominant Gauda phratry, a model that displaced their older tribal model nearly a century ago. A more general ambiguity is expressed by shifts in the ranking of the hierarchy as certain Badagas attempt to achieve a more convincing accord between recently learnt Brahminic ideals and local needs. Since the Badagas have shown little willingness to modify the customary marriage patterns they are obliged to accept the anomaly of a hierarchy relevant only for ritual and not for marriage purposes: this sets them off from the usual model of caste society in which the units of the hierarchy are clearly delineated by marriage rules.

Another explanation for the lack of concern about status congruence when a marriage is being arranged is that the social status of a young girl is determined by the village where she lives. Girls before puberty are for many purposes treated as children of the entire village rather than of one particular family. Once a girl has attained menarche (in earlier days, before that) she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and where her status is determined only by the clan and the affluence of that family, never by her own father's. The same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where only the males' generation level is important in determining relationships. The generation level of a woman is that of her husband and can actually change as she marries successive husbands from different generations.[6] Though a cross-cousin is preferred, a Badaga may marry women, either

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Clan II: Ko:ve:ru (Ko:vu:r or Koyaru) and Bel|i septs;
Clan III: Barata and Maduve (otherwise Maituve or Mandu) septs. This last clan, whose ancestors had come from the Aṅgala monastery where they were *Jaṅgama* priests, provides priests (Woderu) for most other Badagas.

Because the clans are not actually named, the confusing practice has grown up of referring to them either by the names of villages where they are found or by the names of their constituent septs. Further identification of the clans is found in the unusual feature of their recognizing clan deities. As with the Lingayat Mallavas of Coorg (Srinivas, 1942, 36–37), Wodeas who worship the same god may not intermarry.

Wodea marriages are arranged between members of any two of the three clans, even if between inhabitants of the same village; marriages also link those of the Nilgiris with those of Ha:sanu:ru. Since the beginning of this century marriages have been contracted with Lingayat girls from the Wodea caste of Mysore who, unlike Badaga girls, bring a dowry and are often well-educated: outsiders are thus increasingly entering the community. Some intermarriage with Kaggusis has occurred, and in a few cases Wodea girls have married Kaṇakkas.[9]

Wodeas, however, cite not only their supposed royal origins[10] but also the longer time they have lived in the Nilgiris as reasons for the near-absence of intermarriage between them and the other Lingayat clans. Initially, too, they were suspicious about whether these immigrants really were Lingayats; and furthermore the fact that people of these three clans may marry non-Lingayats is obviously not lost on the Wodeas. Locally they are considered a very conservative and orthodox Lingayat group, in the sense that they abide strictly by whatever prescriptions and proscriptions of the Lingayat creed are known to them. Lingayats of Mysore might regard them as rather unorthodox, though, for the Badagas were illiterate until this century and were thus unable to read Lingayat scriptures or even to follow the religious calendar properly (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). Apparently the Wodeas had established their position as a self-perpetuating phratry in the Nilgiris before the other Lingayats arrived.

In the past Wodeas did not accept food from Ha:ruvas or any socially inferior phratry but would eat in the inner room of any other Wodea house (Grigg, 1880, 220). Their food may only be cooked in metal vessels, not earthenware. Other Badagas take

262 food in the outer room only, whereas Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis
264 allow them to eat in the inner room. Such dining occasions usually
615 arise when Gaudas visit families related to them through marriage. In each of these cases the Gaudas receive only vegetarian food; more generally the vegetarian phratries do not eat with non-vegetarians. Toreas may be given food in the outer room of a Gauda home, but meat-eating Adikiris (who may marry Gaudas) eat in the inner one.

KUMBA:RAS

615 Few Badagas know of the existence of this phratry, so small are its numbers. They have only fifty households, or about 300 people, (162) who live in two villages near Male Ko:ṭe, where they were once employed as potters (whence their name). Each village is an (628) exogamous clan; when possible, alliances are arranged between the two. As one village contains four times as many families as the other the larger village has to look elsewhere for most of its spouses, however. They no longer intermarry with other Badagas (177) but with the several thousand families of Kanarese Kumba:ras living in and near Mysore City who are believed by the Nilgiri Kumba:ras to share a common ancestry with them. The Kumba:ras living on the plateau nevertheless class themselves as Badagas and are so recognized by their neighbours as they bear a Badaga culture identical with that of the Gaudas. Among those Badagas who know the Kumba:ra villagers many consider them to be Gaudas, though only at Me:lu:ru have they been absorbed into the Gauda phratry.

(323) The traditional occupation of Kanarese Kumba:ras was potting,[17] and although these Badagas no longer know the craft there are any number of broken sherds stratified at a depth of two or three meters in the ramparts of the old Male Ko:ṭe fortification to testify to this former industry. On the basis of their presumed (if servile) connexion with royalty the Kumba:ras claim to be the highest of all Badaga phratries; other Badagas knowing anything about them rank them below Gaudas and above Be:das and (262) Toreas. Some Kumba:ras are vegetarians; most are not. Their (264) rules for commensality are the same as those of Gaudas.

BE:DAS

615 Another small phratry neighbouring on the Kumba:ras, the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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dominates because of its size, for it consists of some twenty-five families, as compared with the four families in each of the four smallest clans. It is the leader of Ku:kalu clan who settles most of the disputes in these eight villages, although each of them has its own headman. When neither he nor the family elders were able to resolve difficult disputes in the past, the headman of Ku:kalu commune in the northeastern Nilgiris was asked to adjudicate.

The eight villages contain a population of about 800 Badagas, as well as several hundred Iruḷa tribesmen. While no intermarriage occurs between the two groups, there have been stray cases of Badaga men keeping Iruḷa mistresses.

The comparable situation of a peripheral Badaga community living in the Wainad will be discussed below (see pp. 129–131).

NOTES

1. Grigg, 1880, 219. Their factual legends, devoid of supernatural elements, are in sharp contrast to the origin myths of such tribes as the Toda and the Santal; compare Rivers, 1906, 184, and Orans, 1965, 5.
2. Rivers, 1906, 36; Emeneau, 1937, 103, where the number of clans given for tōwfiḷy is incorrect; see also Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 125. On the priests who make sacrifice, see Rivers, 1906, 39–42, 71–72, 276–285, 354.
3. Srinivas, 1942, 32–38; Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 477. For the taboo on killing snakes, see Breeks, 1873, 104.
4. Diagram 7 roughly illustrates the hierarchy. A stranger to this community will hear claims of much higher ranking than the speakers would dare voice to members of other Badaga clans; here we will only present the most widely agreed-upon ranking. (The existence of a hierarchy does not *ipso facto* make this a caste society).
5. Ward, 1821, lxxi; Hough, 1829, 88. Their thread, unlike that of Brahmins, has only one strand.
6. Note, for example, the wives of Hućći in Diagram 5. The Badaga kinship terminology is of the Dakota type (Hockings, in press).
7. heṇṇa du:ranta koḷḷu/danava sa:renta koḷḷu.
8. Jagor, 1876, 202; Francis 1908, 130–131. 'At a funeral the Badagas in general take off their turbans, but the Wodearu keep theirs on. Every Native, not even excepting the petty hill-chiefs [headmen], must bow down before them and pay them adoration'; Metz, 1864, 48–49. During the great memorial ceremony Wodeas are honoured with a bed on which they are invited to sit; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 14.
9. There have also been a few irregular marriages of Wodea girls to men living in Mysore State and the Kollegal Hills near Ha:sanu:ru; see below, pp. 216–217.
10. Grigg, 1880, 220; Francis, 1908, 130–131; Thurston, 1909, vol. 1, 72–73. The name *Wodea* actually means 'owner, lord, master, ruler'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 45, n. 510.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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4

Traditional Interchange (1)

THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE PLATEAU COMMUNITIES

Until the First World War the Badagas were as intimately involved in the traditional system of economic and ritual interaction of the Nilgiris as were the other main participants, the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Throughout the whole of the last century, from the first detailed description of the Badagas in 1812 (Keys) until Father Tignous' account in 1911, there seems to have been no essential change in the organization of this complex relationship; but since World War I the Badagas have withdrawn more and more from the obligations and privileges which had been traditionally theirs. What were these obligations and privileges? How complex were they?

Their economic and social relations have been summarized diagrammatically in the perhaps over-simplified way shown in Diagram 8.[1]

The system of interdependence that we outline here involved a complex but standardized division of labour not unlike the *jajmani* system (see Wiser, 1936; Beidelman, 1959, *passim*) commonly found in multi-caste Indian villages. In order to understand the full complexity of this system, we shall have to reconstruct it from several types of observation. The details are discussed at length by several writers, are still known to the older villagers and to some extent can yet be observed in a few dozen Nilgiri villages. Recently,

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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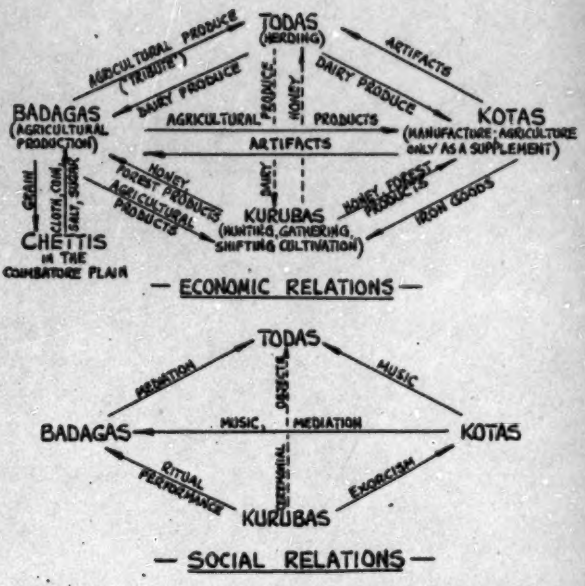

Diagram 8. Economic and social relations among the Nilgiri communities.

with the cash economy becoming almost universal among these communities and the proportion of Badagas to Todas and Kotas rising rapidly (see Appendix 2), this relationship has diminished to the point where it is today a mere skeleton of what it was prior to 1930. The breakdown is apparent in all parts of the Nilgiris although in different localities it has proceeded at differing rates depending in part on the accessibility of a bazaar.

BADAGAS AND KOTAS

The ties linking the Badagas and Kotas have always been closer and more complex than those between any other pair of Nilgiri communities, largely because the Kotas can perform a wider range of services than any other group. These inter-community ties are

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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essentially a relationship of mutual obligation which binds a specific Badaga family to a specific Kota one and are inherited on either side through the males. A Badaga can never change to a new Kota partner unless the old one agrees to it at a joint meeting of their village councils, which rarely happens. The Kota produces certain types of artifact for a Badaga, who in return gives him grain and cloth. Because of the great disparity in numbers between the Badagas and Kotas,[2] it is necessary for each Kota family to maintain such ties with perhaps fifty to 100 Badaga households. In each case, whether or not the services required are those of a woman and whether or not the initial request comes from a woman, all mediation between the two associated families is through the male heads of each.

There are in the entire Nilgiris only seven Kota villages; but these are widely and evenly dispersed, being on the average fourteen kilometers apart (and further by road). One village at Gudalu:ru is in the Wainad, on the slope west of the Nilgiri Plateau; the larger two of the indigenous political divisions each contain two villages; and the remaining two divisions of the plateau have one village each. This distribution, whether originally so planned or not,[3] results in the Kotas being conveniently accessible to all Badaga and Toda settlements; for there is not a settlement anywhere on the plateau that would be more than a morning's walk from a Kota village. Normally each Badaga village is linked with whichever Kota village happens to be closest.

The usual pattern for activating the exchange relationship is for the Badaga to request his Kota partner's *services* whenever the need arises but to order his *products* once each year; while the Kota in turn comes for a dole of clothes and foodstuffs once a year (Harkness, 1832, 78–79; Ranga, 1934, 72). There exists a general understanding that the Kota man should inquire annually of each Badaga partner what items will be required for the coming months. The Badaga then gives him a list of items, while the Badaga's wife passes on to him another list of things required from the Kota's wife. The Kota then announces that he will be returning on a specific day (generally a Monday, the weekly holiday) just before the major Kota festival of Kambattaraya (early January), and the Badaga knows that he must have gifts ready for the Kota on this occasion. On that day the Kota usually comes with his wife and children, bringing the ordered goods if they are ready. The

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Kotas then are considered guests of the partner's family, though their lower status keeps them from entering the Badaga house. The Kotas are fed on the veranda, and formerly the visiting family would simultaneously eat out of a single cloth. In recent decades that has come to be regarded as a disrespectful method of being served food; and so it is now given rather more acceptably on one large plantain leaf instead.

The traditional remuneration for Kota goods and services was not in cash, which was rare in the Nilgiri economy until the mid-nineteenth century, but in food grains, potatoes and mustard (Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 85). Today, however, Badagas prefer to pay cash for specific items they require; and some even buy goods at fixed prices from their Kota partner's stall in the market at Ootacamund, Coonoor or Kotagiri. The traditional Kota dress was a skirt-like cloth wrapped around the lower half of the body and a cloak: both were annual gifts from the Badaga partner, who had in turn acquired them from his Chetti trading partner (see below). Quantities of the two chief grains, little millet and finger millet,[4] could also be given. Whether the Badaga gave grain or cloth, or both, was a matter of personal preference. The actual volume of grain given was seemingly not fixed: it varied with the Badaga's harvest each year, according to Badagas, but according to Kotas should have been a quarter of the yield.[5] The Kota would arrange to supply a quantity of articles proportionate in value to the gifts he had received; and it is said that he was capable of remembering what each of his fifty or more Badaga partners had given him on his last visit. '...if a Kota family felt that the Badaga families for whom they provided tools and music were not giving them a rightful share of the crop at harvest, a Kota council could be called which might decree that those Badagas were to be boycotted until they paid up properly' (Mandelbaum, 1960, 275).

Instances have sometimes arisen of a Kota partner dying and leaving a wife but no son; or a wife dies and her widower has no woman in the house. Then a Badaga may want some article from the remnant of his Kota partner's family while there is actually no appropriate person left to make it. If he wants a man's product the widower can make it, and if a woman's product the widow can still make it, of course; but otherwise the surviving Kota is obliged to maintain the relationship by arranging for some kinsman to produce whatever the Badaga needs.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Kota Products and Services

The Kota friend was traditionally the only source for a Badaga's metal goods. The items which Kotas have regularly manufactured in their smithies, first from local iron ore and later from imported scrap metal, were various kinds of knives (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 8), adzes, crowbars, pickaxes, sickles, hoes, axes, hammers, iron cooking basins, skillets and ploughshares; and formerly they also produced stirrups, horse-bits, bows and iron-tipped arrows. Kotas were once gold- and silversmiths to the Badagas, too, and still occasionally supply them with metal ornaments. In addition to manufacturing this variety of articles, Kota partners were expected to repair them when necessary. Now they are normally given cash for any repair work done.

A second category of products over which the Kotas formerly held the monopoly is that of leather. Although not even members of the highest Badaga phratries object to handling leather goods, only the Kotas have applied themselves to the polluting task of converting buffalo hides into leather articles. The goods they have regularly prepared are horse saddles and bridles, leather ropes for ploughs and tethers (Metz, 1864, 131–132; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 7), leather nets used in trapping, and possibly sandals and water bags. It is worth remarking that while Badagas do not find it polluting to handle the leather on drums, they do consider it demeaning to play Kota drums; hence such instruments have never been sought from the Kotas.

Pottery is a further item over which the Kotas held the local monopoly until this century. Archaeological evidence which I collected indicates that several centuries ago the two hamlets of the Kumba:ras, a tiny Badaga phratry located on the northern edge of the plateau, were producing many kinds of wheel-made pottery. But since that time pot production has been entirely in the hands of Kota women who, it is said, had initially learnt this art from some Kumba:ras. Items which they have regularly supplied to the Badagas include household and dairy vessels, oil lamps and clay smoking-pipes. Unlike any other Kota manufactures their new pots are put through quite an elaborate purificatory ritual by Badagas before coming into daily use.[6]

The Kota partner was also a maker of leaf-umbrellas and of a wooden device not unlike a nutcracker which Badagas use for castrating their young bulls. A curious item with which Kotas must

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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supply their Badaga partners when they find it is the bezoar, a hairy ball that accumulates in the paunch of some buffaloes. Eating a little of this is believed to make a baby strong, brave and manly; and so all Badagas—whether vegetarian or not, and even though quite cognizant of its polluting origin—feed some of it to their newborn sons.

Some Kotas are adept carpenters. In the days when Badagas were still using ploughs they obtained these from their Kota partners, who had made them from some wood supplied by the Toda partners of the Badagas. Kota men sometimes made the heavy wooden pounding-stick found in all Badaga households: in this case the wood was first obtained from the jungle slopes by the Kurumbas of one particular settlement, who passed it on to the Toda who had asked them for it. This Toda would then give the timber to the Toda partner of the Badaga needing the pounder. He in turn passed it on to the Badaga's Kota partner to whittle into a pounder. This is the most complex traditional network we know of in the Nilgiris.

Kota partners were also employed to help build houses or cattlesheds for their Badaga partners. In this case, too, if the Badaga's Toda partner were a relatively affluent man he would supply timber for the purpose. If the Kota were an affluent man he might give food to his own helpers who carried the timber from the Toda source. Similarly, the Badaga partner might get the timber that was needed for a Kota's house. There was in fact considerable flexibility in these intertribal connexions.

When a Badaga house is being built the Kota partner has to place a piece of iron in the foundations to drive away bad spirits; ghosts and demons abhor iron (as elsewhere across the Old World). A comparable ritual at the completion of a new Badaga cattleshed requires that the owner's Kota partner bring a crowbar and lay it across the threshold over which the first cow[7] to enter must step.

The Badagas very literally hold a house-warming ceremony in a newly built house, when the hearth is first built. The Kota partner of the owner must also attend this, bringing a new pot with him. This is essential, for grain has to be boiled in it during the ritual. Another Kota will also be less directly involved in this ceremony, as the mother's brother of the house owner also has to bring another pot for the same purpose from *his* Kota partner.

Until this century Kota men were usually requested to thatch Badaga houses. This service has, however, been discontinued: in

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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1900 or a little before, thatch was replaced by tiled rooves which were considered more convenient, safe and prestigeful; and the Kotas do not generally lay tiles.

For at least the past century Badagas and Kotas have been building their houses of locally made bricks. Kota bricklayers have built Badaga houses, and Badaga bricklayers have also built Kota houses. In either case the traditional ties are not necessarily involved, if only because so very few Badagas or Kotas can lay bricks properly. In these situations payment is generally made in cash according to recognized rates for the labour performed.

Badaga Products

Apart from the annual grant of grain and cloth to Kotas, their Badaga partners used to give them whatever cattle died. 'All the cattle that die in the villages are carried off by the Kotas, and feasted on by them . . . and at no time do the Kotas thrive so well as when there is a murrain among the herds of the Todas and Badagas' (Metz, 1864, 128).

Although Badagas and Todas used to exchange cattle on occasion, no such trade ever took place between Kotas and Badagas; indeed until the mid-nineteenth century the other communities would not allow Kotas to own any buffaloes, and after they did have some they still did not milk them (Reclus, 1891; 192; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 7). The Kotas would eat every Badaga or Toda buffalo that died, however, or would kill and eat an aging beast (normally a bull) given them for the purpose; but it is noteworthy that once they started keeping herds they would never eat any of their own buffalo carcasses.[8]

Another item for which the Kotas looked to the Badagas in the last century was opium. Good quality opium was produced on the Nilgiris at that time, but the Badagas seem to have held a monopoly on it. Today anyone can buy poppy capsules illicitly in the town markets (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 9).

Irregular Services

There are certain services which Kotas are called upon to render only when some unusual situation arises. Thus Kotas do not normally help their Badaga partners to harvest the crops; but if a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Badaga Rituals

The role of the Kotas in Badaga ritual is, or at least was until 1930, a crucial one, since custom required that Kotas provide the music at Badaga funerals, weddings and certain festivals (Ward, 1821, lxxvii; Harkness, 1832, 78–79).

Badaga funerals take place in the village of the dead person. Whether they involve the Lingayat practice of inhumation or the general Shaivite practice of cremation, the ritual is not considered completely performed if a Kota band does not come to play dance music and lead the cortège. Thus as soon as a Badaga dies his village headman sends out word of the funeral plans, not only to other Badaga villages but also to the Kota partner of the dead person. This man will then arrange a party of eight Kota musicians to play at the funeral. The partner himself attends the ceremony but usually does not play an instrument then, for he is in mourning for his friend. The band regularly consists of two flutes, two drums, two tambourines (beaten with sticks) and two horns. The bandsmen go immediately to the bereaved house and there play music suitable for dancing.[10] It is a rule that the corpse should not be removed from the house until this performance has begun. However, if the funeral is to be on a lavish scale, word of it may have to be sent great distances—formerly by messengers on foot—and the Kotas will then have to play for two or three days before the main obsequies begin. Each time a party of visitors arrives from another village the Kota musicians go out with the headman a short way to welcome them. At night the Kotas light a fire on a veranda for warmth and sleep there if need be. If the dead man was rich his Kota partner may honour him by bringing two bands of musicians who take turns in playing through the night as well as the day. Once the corpse has been brought out in front of the house music is played for several hours while Badaga men dance around the catafalque. Each time the corpse is moved on for the next stage of the complex ritual it must be preceded by the band. When the corpse has finally been disposed of the Kotas return to their homes; they have not set foot on the burial or cremation ground and never enter a Badaga house.

There are certain definite articles that a Kota is required to bring to his Badaga partner's funeral. If the deceased was a male of a meat-eating (and so formerly a hunting) phratry, the Kota brings a roughly made bow and arrow to be burnt with the corpse.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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If the deceased was a vegetarian male of the Lingayat sect a small hoe is brought instead, and this has to be used for the first strokes in digging the grave.[11] This hoe is carried anticlockwise once around the catafalque on the head of a near male relative of the deceased and is then kept underneath the corpse with other presents.[12] If the deceased were a woman the Kota partner will bring two toe-rings, one for each second toe of the corpse. In the last century the Kotas also provided a dead woman with a pounding-stick (Metz, 1864, 77); today a rough one is made by her relatives instead.

The Kota partner is often requested to supply a band of musicians for a Badaga wedding if this is to be a public one. (Many weddings are held privately, 'within the family circle', to save expenses; in which case the Kota may still come, but without musicians.) At a large-scale marriage their services may be required for several days; but while the attendance of Kotas at a funeral is imperative, it is for the groom's family to decide whether to have them at his wedding. The Kota partner may also be invited to a naming or an ear-piercing ceremony and should certainly be asked to a bull-castration.

In the early years of this century the Kota man would receive from his Badaga partner a total of two rupees or its equivalent for each day the band played at any ceremony. It is now common for less than a complete band of eight musicians to attend; but each bandsman is fed and receives five rupees a day, even more if the donor is wealthy. The Kota partner, however, gets nothing for the gifts that he must bring to a funeral.

In each commune the Badagas are supposed to hold a massive memorial ceremony whenever one generation level has altogether died out, or else when sixty years have elapsed since the previous ceremony. These events begin on a Sunday and last for eight days, during which many thousands of Badagas from all over the plateau may attend. On these rare occasions the Badaga headman informs the headman of at least the nearest Kota village (indeed, he has to seek that Kota's permission), and he arranges for all the men and boys of that village to play music at the ceremony. For this purpose the Kotas divide themselves into numerous bands of eight men each and thus the dance music can be kept going day and night for the entire period, with several of the groups playing simultaneously. At the end of the ceremony these Kotas all lead the memorial procession to the cremation ground, where a cot is

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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incinerated along with sticks representing every member of the deceased generation. The Kotas are fed by the commune for the duration of the ceremony; after their performance each participating Kota village is given one male buffalo, and a measure of rice or other grain is given each player. All of these expenses, together with the cost of entertaining the Badaga visitors and erecting the great catafalque, are borne in common by a standard levy on each Badaga household.[3]

Kota Ceremonies

Just as the presence of Kotas at these Badaga rituals is obligatory, so are there Kota rituals that require Badaga attendance.

When there is a death in the family of a Kota, his various Badaga partners should come to the funeral with some male relatives and friends. Yet while these Badagas are expected to attend they actually play no part in the ritual: they must simply put in an appearance and make a gift to indicate their sympathy for the bereaved family. If a Badaga is rich this gift will be a male buffalo to be killed during the funeral; if poor he will give five or ten rupees, or the equivalent in grain (Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 85). The Badaga men pay no formal respects to the corpse; and they stay neither for the ceremonies nor for the exciting buffalo sacrifice. Usually they are offered tobacco or cigars by the Kotas but cannot accept food.

Badagas are also expected to attend the Kambattaraya festival every January in the villages of their Kota partners (Breeks, 1873, 44; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 14–17). Some days prior to this the Kotas will already have received their annual gift, which commonly includes new clothes for the festival and sometimes a temporary loan of jewellery. When the Badaga men go to a Kota village on this occasion they are accompanied by some of their female relatives. On arriving a Badaga party will halt just outside the village until the Kotas come with their musicians to escort them in. Again, the Badagas are not there to take any part in the ritual itself; but once this has been completed the visitors are expected to dance and generally enjoy themselves. After a few hours of this the Badagas return home, for they could not pollute themselves by accepting the food of Kotas (Metz, 1864, 130–131).

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NOTES

1. Adapted from Zvelebil, 1955, 243-244. (For 'Kurubas' read 'Kurumbas'.) In fact a number of other tribes are interconnected socially and economically with these four, and an adequate account would embrace nearly a dozen communities.
2. Roughly one Kota to every ninety Badagas (1961); see Appendix 1 and 2.
3. 'The Todas claim that the Kotas are . . . artisans specially brought up from the plains to work for them'; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 7. For the location of Kota villages, see Map 2 above.
4. Respectively *Panicum miliare* and *Eleusine coracana*.
5. Emeneau, 1946, 257. Harkness (1832, 109, 135) noted: 'Each Burgher [Badaga] community now pays . . . at the rate of eighty measures [probably 65 litres] for each plough of land'. But at Kotagiri the Kotas got 182 litres from a village. Later Breeks, 1873, 42, recorded that the Kota got from each village from 37 to 74 litres of each kind of grain grown.
6. Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 85. The Wodeas alone do not cook in earthenware.
7. Nowadays any small piece of iron is used; the cow is always a gift of the Badaga's wife's father.
8. If a Toda or Badaga animal strayed into a Kota herd for one or more nights it would be returned to the owner, but the Kotas would make a point of never eating that particular animal. On nineteenth century practices, see 'Rifle', 1872, 32.
9. Emeneau, 1946, 261; Mandelbaum, 1955, 241. Each Kota village constitutes a commune, separate from the contiguous Badaga communes but answerable to the *parpati*, the Badaga head of that division *(na:ḍu)* of the plateau.
10. The music and dance are performed on the *keri*, the work-space in front of each house.
11. More practicable tools are used for the real work.
12. Today the Kota simply borrows an old hoe in the Badaga village and then covers it with mud as a gesture 'to make it into a new hoe'.
13. Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 15. The last time these rituals were performed was in 1936, when each household in Taṅga:ḍu had to contribute a minimum of thirty rupees; see Plates 13-14.

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5

Traditional Interchange (2)

BADAGAS AND TODAS

Until quite recently every Badaga family maintained an exchanging relationship with a Toda man; some still do.[1] This relationship is inherited on either side by a son from his father and usually links one Toda to an entire Badaga village. This connexion is structurally different from the ties between Badagas and Kotas, as specific Toda women are not formally involved in it in the way that Kota wives are; for in a polyandrous society like the Todas' the fact that a woman might have several husbands simultaneously could mean that if she were associated with the Badaga partner of each she would become overwhelmed by the requirements of these divided loyalties. In practice the same Toda man is normally partner to all the Badagas in a village, and some are even linked with everyone in half-a-dozen neighbouring Badaga villages.

Toda culture has seemingly changed less than either Badaga or Kota culture during the past century-and-a-half. Indeed Finicio, writing in 1603 (p. 723), describes the same economy and the same kind of interdependence with Badagas that Rivers was to find exactly 300 years later.

In the early days of European contact Harkness (1832, 39) noted:

> A very good understanding exists between these two tribes, the Tuda assuming to himself a superiority which the Burgher

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439 butter but also milk and buttermilk.

A few types of basket, among them the winnows, were traditionally supplied to Badagas by Kurumbas; but the majority, including the huge grain-storage baskets, were made for the Badagas by their Toda partners, out of various types of split creeper. Certain baskets on the other hand were obtained from Kurumbas by Todas who would then weave strong edges to these before passing them on to their Badaga partners (Rivers, 1906, 630-631; Emeneau, 1938, 103).

Prior to this century, before thatched roofing fell into disfavour among Badagas, it was the Toda partner and his friends who brought the bundles of reeds needed for thatching. Until recently Todas also brought split creeper and wood needed for building the heavy wooden beds of the Badagas. Other wooden and cane items are supplied when asked for: the milk-churning stick made of cane, timber for ploughs and buildings, threshing sticks and walking-sticks with incised decorations. The flute is sometimes made by an Irula who trades it to a Toda or sometimes the Toda makes it himself to give to his Badaga partner. Until the beginning of this century Todas also made and supplied umbrellas woven of leaves. Cylindrical vessels used for milk and necessary in certain Badaga rituals, and in former days grain measures, are articles made by Todas out of wide sections of bamboo. Not only are the Badaga partners provided with such things, but sometimes a Toda will also bring a gift of fresh bamboo shoots, which are considered a great delicacy and will always draw a return gift of grain.

Cloth was formerly supplied to Todas through the Badagas, but there are two circumstances in which Todas still give Badagas an embroidered cloak. The rarer of these is when a Badaga headman needs one; for the distinctive Toda cloak was in the past virtually a
●[177] symbol of office for Badaga and Kota headmen and would also be
[164] worn by other elders as a mark of respectability. It is also a custom for Badaga corpses to be covered with an embroidered cloak, obtained from his Toda partner by the husband of the daughter of the deceased. The embroidery is done by a wife or mother of the Toda (in a very shoddy manner if intended for a Badaga funeral).
[177] A coarse kind of cloth used once to be woven from the fibres of five
[164] species of local nettle, these having been supplied by Todas. Even today a bundle of these fibres (called *mañji*) is given to a female corpse during a Badaga funeral and comes from the Toda associate.

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Irregular Transactions

As a general rule Badagas, Kotas and Todas shift their cattle to new grazing independently of each other, at the beginning of each year. At present Kota and Badaga cattle are so few that it is rarely necessary to move them at all; but the Todas still practise transhumance within the limits of the plateau, occasionally with Badaga cattle mixed among their own. It was previously common for Badagas to participate in the annual migration of the Toda buffaloes; and sometimes they entrusted their buffaloes to the Toda partners, to take them to better summer grazing on the southern edge of the plateau (Ward, 1821, lxxiii; Rivers, 1906, 133, 137; Ranga, 1934, 24). There the Todas would mix their own herds with the Badaga buffaloes and enjoy the use of their milk, until they were returned home at the approach of the June monsoon.

Badagas and Todas sometimes exchange buffaloes in order to get others of more useful age or yield.[10] This barter only involves female animals and is typically the exchange of one buffalo of good yield for two of lower yield. Todas may also get non-sacred buffaloes from Badaga friends when they suddenly need the animals for sacrifice at a Toda funeral or sell them to Badagas when they need cash. Any difference outstanding after such transactions was formerly paid on the Badaga side by grain, cloth, or gold and silver ornaments; and on the Toda side by various bamboo and basketry articles. More recently the differences have been made up with money alone.

Todas sometimes ask their Badaga partners for financial loans. In the nineteenth century if the request produced no immediate result they would mortgage buffaloes to wealthy Badagas as security for a loan (Marshall, 1873, 130). Today one can still find Badagas lending money merely out of fear of the Todas' sorcery.

Sometimes when a Badaga wants to indulge in some illicit sexual activity he may ask his Toda partner to lend his own wife or find him a Toda girl; but as Toda women are generally rather free in their interaction with non-Todas it is usually no problem for the Badaga to importune a girl himself. Todas on the other hand have virtually no opportunity for intercourse with Badaga women. (Such at least is what reliable Badagas have said; the Toda men deny any such relations between the two communities.)[11]

Although it has not occurred within living memory, 'It was

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•177 [684] formerly a common practice for rich Badagas to hire forty or fifty Todas to go on wife-stealing expeditions, and carry off by force the wives of other Badagas' (Metz, 1864, 75). Today, while the practice of stealing wives may continue, assistance from the Todas is no longer required. A parallel situation in which gangs of Badagas used to help Todas steal wives is also recalled. In either case the assistants each received a few rupees.

[181] [609] Badagas are very fond of betting; and so when they meet informally a Badaga and a Toda sometimes have a bet over the possibility of their performing some athletic feat, such as lifting a boulder (Rivers, 1906, 597 598).

Medicine is another matter that can bring Todas and Badagas together. Although Todas have therapists in their own tribe they occasionally go to Badagas noted for particular kinds of cure (Rivers, 1906, 323, 634-635; for details of Badaga therapy, see Hockings, 1979b). A Badaga partner may help the Toda arrange treatment; but the therapist himself usually expects some fee or present from the patient.

[648] Todas are considered moderately powerful sorcerers, despite their own recent disclaimers. It was for this reason that the parties of Badagas who went to massacre Kurumbas always included one or two Toda associates to deliver 'the first blow'.[12] This practice has not recurred since 1900; nor have Badagas murdered a Toda sorcerer since that time.

A few affluent Todas (affluent because of illicit land rentals)[13] now live in Badaga-style brick houses instead of the customary thatched huts, as the houses are more spacious and comfortable. This habit began some eighty years ago (Rivers, 1906, 29, 634). The Badaga-style houses (distinct from modern government-financed housing) are built in a Toda hamlet by Badagas hired for the purpose but not necessarily by a man's Badaga partner.

Ritual Interaction

177 996 [224] A common setting for interaction between the two communities is ceremonial. On some Badaga festival days the Toda may be required to bring the sticks and make fire by friction or perhaps bring a new milking vessel. For the annual hunting ceremony of Be:da Sa:mi held by both Badagas and Kotas, the Toda used to bring clarified butter to smear on the weapons. Even so, no very

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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crucial part is played by either community in the ceremonies of the other. A Badaga partner and his family or friends will often be invited to the naming, wedding or funeral of a Toda. The Badagas at these times eat Toda food provided it has been prepared in a separate pot.[14] Similarly Badagas may invite their Toda partners and friends to weddings, funerals and certain of the annual festivals, to most of which the Todas are required to bring some useful present. On these occasions the visiting Todas or Badagas should be fed, and it is also appropriate for the hosts to make small gifts; yet gift exchange is not requisite to all ceremonies.

The Toda, like the Kota, has an obligation to visit the married daughter of each Badaga partner once in a lifetime. He sends word of his intention; then comes and presents her with a buffalo heifer or perhaps something even more valuable. In return she gives him a cloak and possibly some other clothing.

Once a year each Badaga village holds a ceremony at which the cattle are given salty water. The Toda or Todas who are the associates of men in that village are invited on this occasion to take whatever salt is left over from the ceremony (Hockings, 1968c, 414).

All Todas from nearby hamlets are invited to attend the great memorial festival in which Badagas honour one generation of their dead; indeed it cannot take place without permission from some Todas of the neighbourhood. These local men bring cane to use in the catafalque and are offered Re. 1.25 in return. A Toda associated with the Badaga village may opt for the special duty of sitting at the major entrance and receiving each group of visitors. He asks every group if they include any important man—one carrying some administrative portfolio or a member of the gentry.[15] If there is such a man in the group the Toda tells them all to wait while he brings the commune headman to welcome them. Otherwise he conducts the visitors to the street where a great catafalque has been erected. The Toda is fed while he performs this service, and afterwards he gets a gift. Todas may have had a similar role during the funerals of the Badaga divisional headmen. Their main duty seems to have been policing the vast crowds that used to attend those ceremonies (Lütze, 1887, 14; see Plates 13–14).

As was mentioned earlier,

> At the present time [1902], the amount of grain supplied by the Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both

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•177 grain and rice are bought by the Todas in the bazaar. All the grain used by the *palol* [priest] must, however, be that supplied by the Badagas; but if more grain is required than the Badagas supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice used at a *ti* dairy [temple] must also be procured through the Badagas (Rivers, 1906, 632–633).

This statement suggests that there used to be a separate category of Badaga associate for the priest of the *ti:* dairy-temple. This supposed institution was elaborated by Rivers (1906, 633; also 98, 630):

> The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special Badagas, each called *tikelfmav*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus [the Chettis], from whom they are procured by the *tikelfmav*. I did not learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for these services . . .[16]

Reliable Toda informants have assured me there was no such institution, even in the last century. It is true that for one month a year the *ti:* at Ö:nţöw is occupied by the priest, (*pol o:j*), and that even today Badagas give him grain during the ceremony of feeding salt to the Toda herds there at Ö:nţöw.

439 Before 1900 the Badagas received clarified butter produced from the milk of sacred buffaloes (Metz, 1864, 41; Grigg, 1880, 195; Macleane, 1893, 905). One priest told Marshall (1873, 145) that this clarified butter from the *ti:* dairy, '. . . which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money'.[17] Further, 'The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs [Nellitore] in the Coimbatore District'.[18] These were sometimes brought to the priest by a Badaga who had previously acquired them from his Chetti trading partner but can in fact be supplied by anyone. The *tüŋy* cloth, a fabric quite different from ordinary Toda clothing, is also used to enshroud a corpse and was obtained from Badagas for that purpose as well

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(Rivers, 1906, 236-237). A further item once acquired through Badagas was the above-mentioned vessels used in the sacred *ti:* dairy (Rivers, 1906, 90).

An occasional Toda ritual that Badagas may still attend is the rebuilding or rethatching of a temple. A day or two beforehand some Badaga elders from nearby villages should be invited by their Toda partners. At one such event in 1963 several Badagas made offerings of silver to the Toda temple and quietly made vows before it.

Sometimes when Toda men expect to be busily occupied at some such ceremony they now hire Badaga youths to prepare the food: Toda women could not do this. It is just a matter of convenience, however, and not a traditional element in the bonds between the two communities.

Although Badagas are often invited to a funeral, 'The only part played ... is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota' (Rivers 1906, 633). This ancient bronze bell has to be tied round the neck of the sacred buffalo as a part of the ritual before it may be sacrificed. Some Badagas do help of their own volition with the Toda's pyre, and in the last century they used to carry the Toda headman *(manegar)* to the ceremony (Ling, 1892, 76).

A frequent guest at Toda council meetings of both a judiciary and a non-judiciary nature is the headman of Tu:ne:ri village, who is paramount chief of the Badagas. His advice is well regarded by the Todas, and he is expected to help mediate in Toda disputes whether or not Badagas are also involved in them (Rivers, 1906, 550, 633; Walker, 1965, 78, 188-189, 193). Formerly the headman of Ba:kola, who was a divisional headman *(parpati)* of the Badagas, would also attend those meetings.

BADAGAS AND KURUMBAS

The Control of Sorcery

Geographically the Kurumbas are much more isolated from the Badagas than are the Todas or Kotas; nevertheless certain Kurumbas have a crucial role in the Badaga community. A Badaga family does not have a specific Kurumba partner, but each commune appoints a particular Kurumba[19] to act as

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guardian and watchman to all the constituent villages. This is a lifelong appointment which passes from father to son and involves warding off magical attacks from other Kurumbas with the watchman's own sorcery. As with Toda sorcery these 'magical attacks' were once a common way of interpreting crop failures and animal diseases as well as most human ills. A Kurumba watchman is expected to spend part of the time in his Badaga commune, where he generally lives on the veranda of the headman's house.[20] If he does not appear there very often the Badagas nevertheless believe he is magically present each night or else knows by clairvoyance what is going on in the villages; yet his visits tend to be frequent, for he is fed by the commune. The standard annual remuneration should nowadays be 3.7 litres of wheat or millet from each household.

Most Badagas still believe the Kurumba is the most effective of all South Indian sorcerers: he can kill people at a distance with a spell, can secretly remove internal organs from the living, can rape women without their knowledge, can enter a locked door and can change into an insect or any sort of mammal.[21]

Until perhaps two decades ago Badaga charges were often levelled against Kurumbas; even today the suspicion directed towards them is still strong. Formal charges of witchcraft, handled by Badaga commune councils, used to unite the Badaga community against an external threat of (or target for) aggression; and the massacres which sometimes followed such charges were clearly a tension-reducing activity for the Badagas:

> In 1836, no less than fifty-eight Kurumbas were murdered, and a smaller number in 1875 and 1882. In 1891, the inmates of a single Kurumba hut were said to have been murdered, and the hut burnt to ashes, because one of the family had been treating a sick Badaga child, and failed to cure it . . . . Again, in 1900, a whole family of Kurumbas was murdered, of which the head, who had a reputation as a medicine man, was believed to have brought disease and death into a Badaga village. The sympathies of the whole countryside were so strongly with the murderers that detection was made very difficult, and the persons charged were acquitted. (Thurston, 1912, 233–234, and 1909, vol. I, 86; he partly quotes from Stuart, 1901, 5; see below, p. 200).

Metz (1864, 123) also wrote on this tension:

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The Kurumba watchman may still play a necessary role in the ritual of his Badaga commune; but Badagas have no part whatever in Kurumba ritual. The sowing and harvest festivals in which the Kurumba must participate are the two most important in the annual cycle. In the former he must make certain ritual utterances and cut the first furrows with a plough—today with a mere ploughshare—at an early morning ceremony in January, and then he must sow the first seeds. In the harvest festival, which falls in July, he must sacrifice a buffalo calf early one morning in a Badaga's field. Two days later he leads a procession of Badagas to their temple where he assists the priest with preparations for the ritual. Then two days after this he must make a wreath of millet sheaves, attach it to a stone archh (representing a temple gateway) and then reap the first grain of the harvest. Kurumbas now claim it was they who initially taught the ancient Badagas about these two ceremonies. During the memorial ceremony for a generation that has passed away, the commune Kurumba also has an active part. On the second day (a Monday) he brings a bamboo ladder to use in building the catafalque, and he also cuts the first bamboo pole to be used in this construction. On the following Sunday and Monday he sacrifices two goats. His role throughout all of these ceremonies is that of an accessory priest, and for this he receives some fifteen rupees (Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Birch, 1838, 103, 105; Francis, 1908, 154; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 13-15; Noble, 1976, 118-120).

Although he does not help at any other Badaga ceremonies it used to be considered a wise precaution to invite his attendance at any auspicious ceremony, such as a wedding or naming, and then make him some small gift that might help avert the ever-threatening Kurumba malice. For a Badaga funeral he might also receive a payment (Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87), although Kurumba sorcery could not affect such an inauspicious ceremony.

There are certain situations in which Kurumba musicians play at a Badaga wedding or funeral in place of the Kota band (Grigg, 1880, 211). Traditionally it could happen either when a dispute had at least temporarily alienated a Badaga family from their Kota partner or when an epidemic was rampant in the Kota's village. Now, when most Badagas have stopped inviting Kotas to any of their ceremonies, some invite Kurumba musicians instead, while others dispense with the music altogether. If the Kurumba watchman is asked to arrange for a band of musicians his own

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Kurumba headman should notify the Kota headman that they will be playing at a certain Badaga village; and the Badaga inviting them should first get permission from the Kota headman to do so.[22] This set of rules is no longer followed since the feelings of Kota headmen are not respected now that Badaga/Kota relations have in general been broken off.

Until the 1930s when the institution of commune watchman began to lose currency, the Kurumba got a quarter rupee each month for every pair of oxen in the commune, or more often its equivalent in grain.[23] At harvest time he would also receive the same sum or else six litres of new grain collected from the villagers by the headman's assistant. In addition he and his family would be fed whenever in the commune.[24] The Kurumba could also rely on Badagas to satisfy all of his clothing needs, for which purpose the headman would first collect grain from the villagers with which to purchase the cloth by barter from the visiting Chetti trader. An early claim (Harkness, 1832, 109, note) that the commune Kurumba could inherit a Badaga's estate when there were no traceable heirs has never been recorded since and would not be possible today.

When a Kurumba watchman dies the headman of the Badaga commune should collect some gifts from the villagers and take them, or have them sent, to the bereaved family. This used to be imperative to secure the goodwill of the family from which the next watchman would also be drawn.

In the pre-British days the Kurumba watchmen got their only salt and crude sugar from Badagas who made annual expeditions to the plains for such needs. These had largely ceased by 1825.

BADAGAS AND IRULAS

The only Badagas having any regular contact with Irulas are those near Ha:sanu:ru and those living in the eastern sector of the Nilgiris. In this latter area Badagas probably—and erroneously—treat the Irulas as a section of the Kurumba tribe, and hence their interrelationship approximates that between Badagas and Kurumbas elsewhere on the plateau.

One of the highest mountains (1788 m.) in that particular area is Rangasa:mi Peak (Metz, 1864, 65–66; Nicholson, 1898, 426–427; Noble, 1976, 124), important in Nilgiri culture because it is crowned by a Vaishnavite shrine (actually two megalithic circles of

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unknown antiquity).[25] This is controlled by Irula priests—who, unlike most South Indian tribals, are Vaishnavites. The two monoliths inside the stone circles represent the god Raṅga and his wife, to whom some of the local Badagas make a yearly offering of plantains, milk and coconuts:

> The hereditary pújári is an Irula, and on the day fixed by the Badagas for the annual feast, he arrives from his hamlet . . ., bathes in a pool below the summit, and marches to the top shouting 'Góvinda! Góvinda!' The cry is taken up . . . and the whole crowd, which includes Badagas, Irulas and Kurumbas, surrounds the enclosures while the Irula priest invokes the deities by blowing his conch and beating his drum, and pours oblations over, and decorates with flowers, the two stones which represent them. That night two stone basins on the summit are filled with ghee [clarified butter] and lighted, and the glare is visible for miles around. The ceremonies close with prayers for good rain and fruitfulness among the flocks and herds, a wild dance by the Irula, and the boiling . . . of much rice in milk. (Francis, 1908, 340; compare Ward, 1821, lxii; Breeks, 1873, 70; Macleane, 1893, 373).

While Badaga contact with the Irulas was less frequent than with other tribes, one of the major 'sanskritizing' influences in the Nilgiris was clearly constituted by the Irulas until the latter part of the last century. As Metz observed (1864, 133), 'They come up now and then . . . and divert the inhabitants with obscene theatrical performances representing passages in the life of Krishna, whom they call Govinda'. The Abbé Dubois (1906, 196) pointed out how in the early 1800s Raṅgasa:mi Peak was a place of pilgrimage for Hindus from the plains, who 'have made it a *punyasthala*, or place of virtue . . . As it is very difficult to reach the top of this mountain, a view of the summit alone . . . is considered sufficient to remove the burden of sin . . . .' Those stalwart pilgrims who did clamber up the peak could hardly have failed to influence local Badagas to some extent in pre-British times.

For such services as their Krishna dramas and occasional medical therapy Irulas used to get grain from the Badagas, a gift which was probably in the nature of a *douceur*, for Irulas were also considered sorcerers (though less powerful than the true Kurumba). Some Badagas living close to Irulas probably had a more

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regular exchange relationship, giving grain to the Irulas in return for honey, bees-wax, timber, nets and other jungle products (Grigg, 1880, 215–216; Macleane, 1893, 373). Like the Kurumbas, Irulas may be asked to play music for Badaga ceremonies when Kotas cannot be approached for a band. Irula women living in the Badaga villages near Ha:sanu:ru have sometimes become the mistresses of those Badagas but not elsewhere.

BADAGAS AND KASUVAS

Although it has been suggested (Thurston, 1909, vol. III, 256; Noble, 1968, 69) that the Kasuvas ('labourers') are merely Irula tribesmen who moved onto the labourer settlements in plantations over the past century, their geographical distribution does not support this. Kasuvas are only found in the Moyar Ditch north of the Nilgiri Plateau, whereas the local Irulas only live south and east of the plateau (Noble, 1968, 6, Fig. 2). At most it can be said that these are two names for people of very similar culture.

The Kasuvas perform a service for the more northerly Badagas analogous to that which the Todas perform for those living farther south: Kasuvas take Badaga cattle down into the Moyar Ditch for grazing and breeding (Francis, 1908, 209; Noble, 1968, 69–72). A Badaga owner occasionally visits his herds there, but the animals are regularly tended by a Kasuva family who jointly receive perhaps six to ten rupees weekly as well as vegetables and grain. In addition they get a ration of rice, an annual supply of clothing and occasional gifts, for example, at a Kasuva wedding. The livestock camps *(hundis)* of Kasuvas are mainly used for breeding, but large numbers of cows and buffaloes may be sent there by the Badagas when grazing on the Nilgiris is sparse. More generally,

> Dry cows are taken down, and good milk yielders are brought back up . . . Milk and buttermilk [yielded by Badaga cattle while in the Moyar Ditch] may be consumed by the Kasuva caretakers. Clarified butter carried up by Badagas or Kasuvas is either sold or consumed by Badagas (Noble, 1968, 72).

Be:ragani, the only Badaga village with a sacred herd attached to its temple (Francis, 1908, 316), has for over two decades kept its

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hundred buffaloes permanently in the Moyar Ditch under the charge of Kasuvas because of shortage of grazing around Be:ra-gani itself. The herdsmen are paid from temple funds.

As in the case of Kurumbas, Irulas and Uralis, a Kasuva band may perform at Badaga ceremonies in place of the customary Kota one. Aside from this, there is one annual ceremonial event which has brought the two communities together in considerable numbers over the past decade or so. This is a complex *pu:ja* to the goddess Sikkamma at her Kasuva-owned temple in the Moyar Ditch, held every March. Roughly five thousand Badagas and most Kasuvas attend, the highlights of the event being *pu:ja*, a free meal, and a noisy night-time procession with the goddess' image mounted on an electrically lit elephant.

BADAGAS AND URALIS

The Uralis are a tribe of gatherers and shifting cultivators who inhabit jungles on some southern slopes of the plateau. They have no regular connexion with Badagas, but as they are feared for their sorcery they can depend on alms from Badaga villagers should a crop failure force them to wander up onto the plateau, as it occasionally has. Under unusual circumstances Badagas may pay a band of Uralis to perform music at a ceremony when for some reason Kotas cannot be invited.

THE WAINAD GAUDAS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

The Wainad Gaudas are Badagas who settled on the lower plateau some two centuries ago. In proximity to them are various other groups: Kotas, Chettis, Panias, Irulas, Kurumbas and until 1925 some Todas. The Gaudas, a dominant community in the area, cultivate dry and irrigated rice. They claim it was the desire for rice which had prompted their ancestors to move down into the Wainad from Badaga villages on the Nilgiri Plateau.

The community consists only of Gaudas, except one commune which also has some Toreas (now calling themselves Gaudas). The 951 people live in ten communes, each made up of a few hamlets containing one lineage. Every commune has a council, and for complex cases a council of all the Wainad communes is held at

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Pandalu:ru village. This system thus parallels that of the Nilgiri Badagas but does not link up with theirs: cases cannot, for example, be referred to the paramount chief of the Badagas in Tu:ne:ri, and he does not invite Wainad Gaudas to his councils. The head of the all-Wainad council is someone noted for his justice, called the Great Headman (*doḍḍa gauḍa*); he is selected from any of the communes. Each commune is headed by a man termed the *jammaka:ra*, under whom there are two or three lesser headmen (*kudiare*). Both of these offices are inherited fraternally; i.e., they pass from brother to brother in order of seniority, then on to the eldest brother's eldest son, and so on. Each *kudiare* is responsible for the descendants from one particular Nilgiri division: in Kolepalli, for example, there are two such headmen because its population is descended from Todana:ḍu and Me:kuna:ḍu villagers. As in the hills, a legal dispute passes up this hierarchy from the *kudiare* to the Great Headman if necessary.

These Gaudas have maintained some marriage connexions with Nilgiri Gaudas, even with families of the gentry. Several communes still intermarry with the Nilgiri Badagas of So:lu:ru; but more generally all of the communes marry endogamously or exogamously within the Wainad community. Their constituent hamlets, being single lineages, are always exogamous.[26]

There is a nineteenth-century account of trading parties of Wainad Gaudas regularly visiting the Me:kuna:ḍu village of Ke:ti (and presumably elsewhere on the plateau), bringing with them buffaloes and gold dust 'for sale' (B.E.M.S., 1854, no. 14, 41).

These Gaudas had no connection with the Todas who, until the 1920s, lived on the edge of the Wainad, but some do maintain an exchange relationship with the Kotas there and also with certain Irulas and Kurumbas. The Kota partner from Gudalu:ru provides pottery as well as a pole used in Gauda funerals, to which he should also bring Kota musicians. He helps, too, with house building (Ranga, 1934, 26). In return he gets an occasional buffalo. Irulas and Kurumbas may also provide music for the funerals. Like the Panias they are valued as basket-makers but have no reputation for sorcery here as they do elsewhere. The Kurumba watchman institution is not encountered in the Wainad.

Gauda landowners have a special relationship with the Pania tribe, some of whom were their praedial slaves.[27] As if to justify this situation some Wainad natives claim the Panias originated as African slaves who escaped from two British ships in Calicut

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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(Kozhikode) during the reign of Tippu Sultan; but it is more likely they were local tribals or slaves (*paṇiya*) who had escaped across the border from Coorg.[28] These labourers, whose services may be bought along with the land (Thurston, 1909, vol. VI, 58), and whose position there is inherited patrilineally, work without wages in return for regular meals, housing and clothes. Some of the more progressive farmers give them a little pocket-money, too, and normally pay their marriage expenses. In 1976 the Government made a serious effort to release all such people from bondage.

TRADITIONAL INTERCHANGE: A SUMMARY

Each of the four main groups—Badagas, Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas—was linked with each of the others through patrilineally descending partnerships. The men involved in these supplied each other with goods and services supplementing their own economic production and also symbolizing their social interrelationship through ritualized interaction.

Only the Badagas produced a real surplus of grain; Kotas and Kurumbas grew hardly enough crops for their own needs and Todas never grew anything. Thus the Badagas alone were in a position to pass out grain to Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas at harvest-time. They were also to some extent the suppliers of cloth, sugar and salt for these three tribes. While Badagas thus played a major part in the economy of the Nilgiri tribes their role in the rituals of these groups was minimal, probably because the form of the rituals antedated the arrival of the Badagas.

Todas specialized in dairy produce: milk and clarified butter. These they provided on occasion for Badagas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Todas were also able to supply Kotas and Badagas with various cane products: beds, flutes and certain baskets.

The Kotas possessed some buffaloes and cultivated grain, too. But they also made various artifacts for the Badagas who gave them cattle carcasses and grain and for the Todas who gave them clarified butter. The Kotas were the specialists in leather-work, carpentry, pottery, metal-working, thatching and ceremonial music. Their participation in Toda and Badaga funerals was essential.

By comparison with the Kotas, the Toda and Kurumba tribesmen maintained relatively simple relationships with the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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177 648 Badagas. Most Kurumbas were kept distant from the other hill peoples because of their residence pattern and their reputation for infallible sorcery. The commune Kurumbas, or watchmen, were appointed by a Kota or Badaga commune to protect its members from Kurumba sorcery. The loyal watchman was rewarded with a dole of grain at harvest, with new cloth whenever he needed it, with meals when he was with the Badagas and in fact with anything else that he might wheedle out of his employers by supernatural threats or promises.

NOTES

177 1. Only four of the sixteen Toda clans keep up the relationship, and it has been totally abandoned by Christian Todas and Christian Badagas; compare Emeneau, 1939, 101. I am indebted to T. Mutiken, a Toda, for his patient criticism of these pages on Toda/Badaga relations.

648 2. '... were it not for the hold which the Todas have upon them by the pretended use of witchcraft, they would doubtless refuse payment of their accustomed tribute'; Metz, 1864, 21; compare Marshall, 1873, 145; Grigg, 1880, 328.

3. Ouchterlony, 1848, 59; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 59–60; Breeks, 1873, 12–13; Ward 1821, lxxiii, stated it was paid to Todas because they were 'the hereditary claimants of the soil'. We should note that throughout the second half of the nineteenth century the government allowed the Todas Rs 150 annually, as 'goodoo' or compensation for former Toda lands now used by Europeans in Ootacamund Municipality; Grigg, 1880, 302, 329–331, 333–341; Price, 1908, 227–228. Similar compensation was paid for Toda and Badaga lands in Coonoor Municipality; Francis, 1908, 343.

4. Harkness (1832, 135–136) gives a general figure of 2.25 litres—probably what each household gave the Todas.

5. Ouchterlony, 1848, 59; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 59; Kotas claim it should be one winnowful (four litres) per household; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

6. Compare Shortt and Ouchterlony, 1868, 59: 'Sometimes the offerings ... are not considered sufficient, and sometimes they refuse to give anything at all, when confusion ensues; the Todars ... entering their houses and laying them under contribution by force.'

7. Grigg, 1880, 195; Rivers, 1906, 261; Francis, 1908, 144; compare Metz, 1864, 41; '... they stand in fear of the supposed power of the Pálaul to kill their cattle by sorcery.'

000 8. Toda men and women wear the *pu:txuly*—a large cloak intricately embroidered by the women—over a loincloth.

439 9. On occasions when the Todas did not join Badagas and Kotas in this venture.

000 10. Rivers, 1906, 634. Toda songs often refer to buffaloes obtained from Badagas for funeral sacrifice; e.g., Emeneau, 1971, 6, 79, 307, 448.

177 11. Basel Mission, 1905, 305, records the case of a Badaga Christian teacher who had relations in 1903 with a Toda girl and later with his own mare. Emeneau, 1971, 613, cites the case of a Toda woman 'raped by a Badaga'. Another

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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177 report of wife exchange between Todas and Mudugas has not been substantiated by recent investigation; see von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1954, *passim*.

000 12. Grigg, 1880, 212; compare Metz, 1864, 123, 'Rifle', 1872, 32; Stokes 1883a, 6. They were from one particular clan nicknamed 'Kurumba-cut-people'.

177 13. Francis, 1908, 272; Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 115; Shaposhnikova, 1969, ch. 22; at present only two Badagas rent land from Todas.

177 614 14. Those of the high-status Ha:ruva and Lingayat clans eat only the milk products, not cooked food, if they visit Todas. For an instance of a Toda priest putting butter on the Badaga ceremonial spear, see Emeneau, 1971, 5, 744.

565 622 15. There is a kind of upper class among Badagas, which I call the gentry: families claiming direct descent from the founder of their village. It is from these families that the headmen usually come; see above, Diagram 6.

000 16. The fact that Badagas and anthropologists may go right up to the *ti:* enclosure while Todas stay a hundred meters away perhaps led Rivers to presume his Badaga guide for the day had a special relationship with the *palol*!

439 17. The sanctity of milk from sacred buffaloes has been lost once it is made into clarified butter, and this can be sold; Emeneau, 1938, 104, 112.

778 18. Rivers, 1906, 103. A less reliable source claims the *palol's* cloth was woven by the Toreas of Jakkane:ri; near Kotagiri; see Macleane, 1893, 905.

000 19. *U:r Kuruba;* Breeks, 1873, 53-54. The common spelling *Kurumba* comes from Tamil.

186 20. No Kurumba is allowed in a Lingayat house, as he is believed capable of polluting it. Other phratries allow him as far as the outer room and consider him less polluting than a Kota.

000 21. Harkness, 1832, 84-85; Metz, 1864, 116-117; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86, and 1912, 232-233; 'Miles,' 1951, 71. Fifty years ago an up-to-date old lady was 'experimenting with flying'.

22. Badagas assert it would be unethical or liable to bring misfortune were Kurumbas and Kotas allowed to play music together on the same occasion.

177 621 23. Metz, 1864, 116; Thurston, however, stated this to be the *annual* tax paid by each Badaga family; see Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87. According to Kotas it should be 'four annas and a meal paid by each house'; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

24. Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Harkness, 1832, 109; Metz, 1864, 116. Around Kotagiri each family gave their Kurumba 18 litres; compare Harkness, 1832, 135, note. Elsewhere he was thought to get about one-sixtieth of the harvest; Harkness, 1832, 57. Earlier his share was put at 15-37 litres per farmer, plus 'as many of the sheaves as he can well bear away on his shoulders'; Ward, 1821, lxxvi. The Kurumbas accepted cooked food from Badagas, uncooked food from Todas, but none from Kotas; Macleane, 1893, 222.

795 25. Though the Badagas are Shaivites there are also Vaishnavite temples in some villages, managed by Shaivite priests.

595 583 26. Marriage, which is rarely polygynous, involves payment of a bridewealth of a hundred rupees, refundable upon divorce; for an instance of marriage between So:lu:r and the Wainad Gaudas, see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

586 27. Ranga, 1934, 55-59; Noble, 1968, 174-175. This relationship was ended by Government action in 1976.

648 657 28. Moses, 1964, 10; Srinivas, 1965, 20-22; *paaya* is also a section of the Yerava tribe in Coorg.

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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millet), mustard seed, garlic and wheat; and they also ate honey. At this early date the Badagas were not self-sufficient, for they gave the Todas 'rice' in exchange for buffalo ghee. He added that Badagas also carried this clarified butter to a place called Manaracathe to sell (Finicio, 1603, 723). This is evidently the Manna:ru Ghat, or escarpment track, which runs from Malabar to the Sundepatti Pass, and which then leads up the south side of the plateau to Me:lkunde.[3] Whether coinage was obtainable by such transactions we are not told. The same description might well have been penned by another visitor 200 years later.

Nothing was however written about the following two centuries although that was the period when the community expanded to nearly 350 villages and consolidated itself. The next mention of Badagas is in Buchanan's survey of 1800 (1807, vol. II, 246–247), when he tells briefly of their having ploughs, practising swidden cultivation and gathering jungle produce, including honey and bees-wax.[4]

From about 1809 to 1812 several Britons explored the hills.[5] Apparently they had no impact on the local economy. The 1812 expedition was to survey the area quickly and report back to the Collector of Coimbatore, under whose charge the tract had nominally rested since the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1799. Keys' short report (1812) contains some valuable material to add to what little we glean from Finicio, Buchanan and the oldest traditions of the Badagas themselves.

In 1819 the first settler, John Sullivan, came to the plateau and set in motion a train of events which quickly and significantly transformed the indigenous economy into a monetized one. Over the succeeding years the European population slowly increased; but it was only after 1838, when coffee was introduced, that Europeans had any commercial reason for taking up residence in the area. Long after that date the great bulk of Europeans remained in the three towns of the plateau, so that their influence on the rural economy may well have been slight. Not until the 1850s is there documentary evidence of any modification of the Badaga farming economy that can be attributed directly to the British presence. What O'Malley (1941, 12) has observed for Moghul India in general is also an accurate summary of the Nilgiri situation throughout the last century:

> The only contact with the villages was by means of local officials

MARKETING BEFORE 1825

Until the British encouraged sundry traders from the plains to establish a weekly bazaar in Ootacamund around the year 1825,[8] there was no market-place on the plateau itself, and coinage did not circulate much among Badagas. Nevertheless they did participate slightly in the market economy of the plains early in the last century. Depending on the position of their villages some went down the eastern slopes to the market of Ka:ramuḍu (in Tamil, Ka:ramaḍai), others chose a route down the northern slopes to the Mysore town of Guṇḍuḷupe:te and those in Kundena:ḍu went southward (as in Finicio's day) to Sundepatti, a small market in the westernmost corner of the Coimbatore Plain.[9] Apart from visiting Ka:ramuḍu (which they called Koṅgu, meaning 'plains') they never had any occasion to travel extensively on the Coimbatore Plain. Guṇḍuḷupe:te used simply to be called Pet: this meant 'a place where people gather together', hence a market; or according to some, 'a place where cattle gather'. For a long time it was a major cattle market in southern Mysore.

Early each March the Kanarese Chettis and other people of Ka:ramuḍu held a festival to honour the god Raṅgana:tan, after which there was a large cattle fair and general market.[10] A delegation of Badaga men from villages in the eastern part of the Nilgiris attended that festival every year.[11] They would first help drag the chariot of the deity and then would barter goods for coinage and whatever else they needed. There seems to have been no fixed date for the annual visit of more westerly villagers to Guṇḍuḷupe:te, but it coincided roughly with the Ka:ramuḍu expedition. In both cases the Badagas obtained provisions for their main harvest festival, the Great Festival,[12] which falls in March or April, and salt for the ceremonial feeding of their cattle in March. In Guṇḍuḷupe:te Lingayats could also buy personal *liṅgas* at the monastery. In view of the long walk from these markets and the 1500 m. ascent, it is not surprising that the items bought were small and fairly valuable.

All three trading expeditions were organized on the same principle. Permission to go was first obtained from the village headmen, then preliminary arrangements were made as to who would go and the time of their departure. The Badaga headmen would then send a message to neighbouring Kota headmen, thus giving Kotas an opportunity to join the party, for the Kotas did not

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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organize their own expeditions. Todas sometimes also joined, trading clarified butter and honey for tobacco, trinkets and cloth. Their clarified butter was much appreciated in the plains and was 'transported great distances, even as far as Bombay' (Hough, 1829, 72). The trading party would be at least twenty-strong, and sometimes hundreds went together—after carefully taking off all their valuables. This arrangement was important to the participants because of the dangers, real or imaginary, which they could expect as they passed through steep jungle tracks infested by tigers, elephants, wild buffalo, wolves, brigands and Kurumba sorcerers.

Until the 1830s certain Badagas, generally commune headmen, habitually walked once a year to the fort at Dannaika Ko:ṭe, below the eastern slopes.[13] The Nilgiri Plateau formed a part of the Dannaika Ko:ṭe *taluk* (revenue division) from Tippu Sultan's administration up to 1830. This was a convention important only for the collection of land revenue from the Badagas and Kotas. Each farmer was assessed a fixed rate by the officers, dependent on the total rather than the cultivated area he held; the rate did not decrease if some fields remained uncultivated one year. Traditions mention occasional visits by Tippu's officers to extract payment from the unwilling villagers (Metz, 1864, 119; Grigg, 1880, 312, 325; Emeneau, 1946, 255). In 1799, after Tippu was killed, the plateau passed into the hands of the East India Company by the Treaty of Seringapatam, and for over twenty years the British continued to collect Nilgiri revenues at Dannaika Ko:ṭe. Their estimates were now based not on acreage but on a farmer's wealth. Each year therefore the headmen carried their collected taxes down in coin. While at the fort they could also visit the nearby market towns of Sattiyamaṅgaḷa and Sirumuge (Metz, 1864, 5).

Very likely one of the reasons for the trading expeditions was to sell enough of the new harvest and other produce to get the coinage needed for the tax payment, although this could in part be paid with opium (Francis, 1908, 290; Price 1908, 224). Coinage was scarcely in circulation on the plateau at this time, especially since there was no market there until 1825. Coins had, however, found a ceremonial use. Ward (1821, lxxiii; cf. Rivers, 1906, 361-362) mentions gifts of a quarter or half rupee to Todas on the occasion of Badaga weddings. Rupee coins also reached the Todas, presumably from their transactions with Badagas and from the expeditions, for a number of the coins still displayed in Toda funerial ritual are East India Company silver rupees of the late-eighteenth century.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Because of their wetter climate the Badagas have always been able to subsist while famine ravaged the South Indian plains (Grigg, 1880, 34). Even so, Badagas were undoubtedly affected by the occasional lowland famines and by fluctuations in the grain prices, since they sold their grain surplus in the nearby lowland markets. We need hardly point out that they would have made unusually good profits from sales in the famine years, but they might also have been taxed more heavily in those years.

MARKETING AFTER 1825

Around the year 1825 the British settlers, through their officials in Ootacamund, began to encourage traders from the plains to develop a market in that town and provided government-owned land for the purpose (Price, 1908, 233). By the end of 1827,

> ...advances had been made to [immigrant] natives to open bazaars...in the place so that 'the market is now well and regularly supplied with every essential article'...a public establishment of palanquin-bearers was kept up; and...villages were beginning to spring up at the foot of the passes (Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 115; compare Grigg, 1880, 288).

The traders in those early days were Chettis from Me:ṭṭupa:ḷaya, Ka:ramuḍu and other nearby lowland villages.[19] The market in Ootacamund was held only on Monday and Tuesday of each week; every Thursday the same traders held a market in Sirumuge, and on Friday were in Ka:ramuḍu. In these places they would collect the produce from the surrounding Chetti-controlled villages, then on Friday night they would start out by bullock-cart up the long Coonoor pass to the plateau. Their merchandise included rice, salt, crude sugar, coconut and other foodstuffs[20] As the climb was entirely uphill the bullocks rested all day Saturday and Sunday on the slopes and travelled throughout the nights. Later on in the century wealthy Chettis built some free rest-houses by the roadside for these journeys. The carts regularly reached Ootacamund on Sunday evening after a forty-eight hour haul. After two days of trading the Chettis left with their loaded carts around four each Tuesday afternoon. By Friday morning they were back in Ka:ramuḍu to repeat the weekly cycle and to barter

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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175 among the entire Nilgiri population.

439 Chetti merchandise consists of cloth, lamp-wicks and various trinkets, which are exchanged for grain or cash when available. Since the early nineteenth century these traders have also made [804] and bartered iron measures of volume, artifacts that had previously been made out of bamboo by the Todas.[22] The Nilgiri system of measures differed significantly from that of southern Mysore, presumably because these Chettis and the officers at Dannaika Ko:ţe imposed the standards of Coimbatore markets on the Badagas.

439 Each Badaga village has a traditional barter relationship with a particular Chetti man, inherited on either side by a son from his father; and despite the vast economic changes since the inception of this system some centuries ago the relationship continues today, modified only by a very considerable drop in the number of clients and volume of trade. During the ten days of his visit the Chetti works through two or three villages a day, restricting himself to the two dozen or more villages of his recognized territory, and then returns to his home in the plains. After twenty days of work there he returns to the plateau and repeats this circuit. Contiguous territories are covered by different Chettis often from the same village, so that one can send a message to his own Regional Chetti by contacting another one on tour in the hills. Although a Chetti may sometimes bring his wife with him all dealings occur between him and the Badaga men. If the Chetti's wife accompanies him it is only to strengthen the bonds of friendship with his Badaga trade associates, by making conversation with the Badaga womenfolk. During nights on the plateau the Chetti sleeps in the outer room of a Badaga friend. He is allowed to eat in that room as well but is expected to wash his own plate, an act indicative of his lower status.

The relationship between Badagas and Chettis is very different in character from that linking Badagas with Todas or Kotas. Until well into the twentieth century the latter linkages were crucial for the flow of necessary goods to members of the three communities; whereas trade with Chettis was never anything more than a convenience which in earlier times saved Badagas from extra ● 177 journeys to the plains and more recently to the nearest bazaar. The [609] Chetti is considered a foreigner as he is from the plains. Normally his Badaga friends need not visit his village: there is no ceremonial gift-exchange between the two and little participation in each

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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other's rituals. This contrasts with the intensity of the relationships uniting the various peoples of the plateau (compare Diagram 8, p. 100).

We know of only two occasions when Chettis and Badagas do have some ritual interaction: one in the plains, the other on the hills. Perhaps two centuries ago, and certainly before British suzerainty in the area, the Chettis of Ka:ramuḍu, acknowledging that they were becoming wealthier because of trade with the Nilgiris, built a larger temple to their god Raṅgana:tan and started the annual chariot-dragging festival in his honour. It was this festival day that the Badagas always chose as the best time for their yearly trading expedition; the trading was preceded by mandatory participation in the ceremonies (Nicholson, 1898, 352; see above, p. 138).

Secondly, one of the major Badaga festivals, in honour of their goddess Hette ('grandmother'), is held in Be:ragaṇi village, where there is a special building called Weaving House belonging in common to the whole village. Several days before the annual festival their Regional Chetti comes up from near Sirumuge to sit in this house and weave a year's supply of new clothes for the priest. These are a loincloth, turban and shawl, all of cotton, for the making of which the Chetti gets a fixed amount of cash from the temple funds (Francis, 1908, 317). These men do not otherwise weave while touring the plateau.

NOTES

1. 'There are no manufactures on the hills and much less of trade'; an exaggeration from Keys, 1812, li; compare Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 108.
2. See above, p. 40, n. 9. It may be mentioned that both Ptolemy and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* refer to a town called Nelkynda, but this was probably Nirkundram, near Kottayam in Kerala.
3. It connects with the most westerly part of the Coimbatore Plain, in the upper valley of the Bhavani, as well as with Malabar District; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 105.
4. He did not ascend the hills but made his enquiry at the foot, on the Coimbatore side; Grigg, 1880, 277, Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 106, and Price, 1908, 2.
5. Burton, 1851, 270; Metz, 1864, 6; Balfour, 1885, 1099; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 107, n. 1. Among these people was Colonel A. MacLeod who spent some months in military movements in the Wainad in 1804. Several Badaga boys born on the day of his visit were named MacLeod; see Metz, 1864, 6; Grigg, 1880, 312; Price, 1908, 10. Other early visitors included W. Bevan and L.G. Ford (1809), William Morrison (1812), and W. Keys and MacMahon (1812).
6. Keys, 1812, li; Sullivan, 1819, lv; Macpherson, 1820, lvii; Ward, 1821, lxiii.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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7

Growth of the Cash Economy

IMPACT OF BRITISH IDEAS ON THE BADAGA ECONOMY (1799–1850)

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During the first half of the nineteenth century the British took a number of administrative steps which moved the basal Badaga economy decisively, if unintentionally, into the status of a monetized market economy. The ceding of the Nilgiri Plateau to the East India Company by the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1799 was the first step in this process. Though it was another twenty years before any British actually settled on the plateau the demand of land-revenue payment became more insistent and regulated than it had been under Tippu Sultan's tenuous régime. Badagas must therefore have been obliged to trade more persistently with the lowlands to acquire the coinage being demanded at the Dannaika Ko:ţe outpost every year.[1]

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A second point of impact on the Badaga economy was the Company's policy of fixing grain prices. The rigid control of prices, attempted by the District Collectors throughout Madras Presidency, must have encouraged the Badagas to market grains in the Coimbatore Plain (which lay within that Presidency), where they could feel somewhat confident about getting satisfactory prices and not being cheated. Had the grain prices been more of a gamble the Badagas would have been less inclined to produce a surplus of grain and carry it the long distance down to the market.

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When the pioneering John Sullivan came to the hills in 1819 he

[p. 147]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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175 177 241 gave Badagas superior seed grains from Europe, as well as seeds of various European vegetables.[2] This increased grain production somewhat and started Badagas growing vegetables they were not accustomed to eating. And as the British population increased so did the demand for locally grown European vegetables: a handful of Badaga farmers, being able to supply them, were thus drawn further into the market economy.

175 177 871 One area in which the British tried to effect early changes without success was formal education. In 1820 or 1821 Sullivan founded a school at the Wodea village of De:na:ḍu, directly above Dannaika Ko:ṭe, but the enterprise (prompted no doubt by a need for local clerks) was apparently a failure (Ward, 1821, lxx; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 113). In 1830 Sullivan founded another school at Ku:kalu, also in the northeast of the plateau, to teach Badaga boys the Tamil and Kannada languages. Another was probably founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1830 at Dimbaṭṭi (Moses, 1964, 11). Among the few youths who acquired some education there was an attitude that is still voiced today and portended changes in the occupation pattern: they considered themselves fitted by schooling for a lifetime of something better than manual labour (Harkness 1832, 69–70). Another school, the first to use English as a medium, was established by a former judge, George J. Casamajor, at Ke:ṭi in 1845. This became the local headquarters of the Basel Mission in the same year, and a school has been there more or less constantly ever since. (In 1901 it became the first Badaga high school [Francis, 1908, 332; Moses, 1964, 13].) In Casamajor's time parents had to be paid one anna a day before they would send their sons to the school. It was only in the latter half of the century, after the Mission was well established at Ke:ṭi and elsewhere and several more schools had been founded, that education became at all popular with Badagas. For this achievement German pertinacity should take some credit; but after 1856 Badagas began to realize that literacy in Tamil was the only sure road to jobs in the local bureaucracy and so started to value schooling (Grigg, 1880, 423).

175 177 464 In the early days of European settlement the British frequently needed day-labourers to do jobs in the developing Nilgiri towns. A large number of lowland immigrants now lived and worked in these towns, but Badagas were also occasionally hired by Englishmen and paid a daily rate in cash. Around 1827, however, it had been observed that

175 177 [464]

> The hill people are so independent. . .that no temptation of wages will induce them to engage . . . as coolies, and they are only prevailed upon to work from a conviction that, refusing to do so, Government might make some just demands against them for increase of rent [land revenue]. . . .[4]

By the 1840s there were many Badaga families earning a certain amount during a few months of each year from townspeople, from plantations and perhaps from the new Mission (Ouchterlony, 1848, 64; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64). Their economy was now monetized, though the majority of families were still dependent on farming for their food requirements.

EXPANSION OF THE MARKET ECONOMY (1850–1900)

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During the second half of the nineteenth century far-reaching economic changes triggered by the British settlers introduced the concept of competition and the importance of valuation to the Badagas. There is little indication of any competitiveness in their indigenous exchange activities or bartering practices before about 1840.

177 464 [461] [465]

The opening of coffee (1838) and tea (1846) plantations on the plateau called for a great deal of manual labour; and by the 1850s many Badaga men found themselves competing for the first time with immigrants in a labour market.[5] Each group constituted one-half of the work force (Grigg, 1880, 399), but the British estate owners now preferred Badaga workers to immigrants because of their diligence. The labourers were paid in cash, not grain.

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Secondly, the sizeable European population on the hills was now requiring quantities of cabbage, carrot, potato and other European vegetables which some Badaga farmers were able to supply. Their tradition of intensive farming in small fields was readily adapted to the new crops (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 35); and their venture was helped by a climate not unlike that of northwestern Europe (an English poet later was to muse on 'the sweet, half-English Neilgherry air').

241 433

During the latter half of the century a wide variety of indigenous farm products also found their way into the local market.[6] These foodstuffs were local varieties of wheat and barley, Italian, finger and slender millet, prince's feather (or amaranth), mustard seed,

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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241 433 coriander, chick pea (or Bengal gram), garlic, onion, fenugreek, as well as poultry and eggs. Though officially suppressed in 1854 and again by the Opium Act of 1878, opium continued to be produced (Ouchterlony, 1848, 27–28; Baikie, 1857, 92; Metz, 1864, 153; 'Geofry', 1881, 132; Benson, 1895, 432–433; Prince, 1908, 224).

● 177 241 Foodstuffs introduced by Europeans but now being grown by Badagas included:

Grains	*Root-crops*	*Vegetables*	*Fruits*	*Stimulants*
Barley	Beetroot	Artichoke	Apple	Coffee
(new variety)	Carrot	Asparagus	Blackberry	Tea
Fiorin grass	Mangel-wurzel	Cabbage	Capers	Tobacco*
Italian rye	Parsnip	Cauliflower	Citron	
Lucern	Potato	Celery	Gooseberry	
(for fodder)	Radish	French beans	Lemon	
Oats	Turnip	Kidney beans	Loquat	
Wheat		Leek	Nectarine	
(new variety)		Lettuce	Orange	
		Peas	Peach	
		Savoy cabbage	Pear	
		Sea kale	Plum	
		Spinach	Raspberry	
			Strawberry	
			Tomato	

*Reputedly a Toda import (Baikie, 1857, 95).

439 Trade items being imported to the Nilgiris in the late nineteenth century included four products also imported in pre-British times—sugar, salt, cotton cloth and tobacco. In addition various other Indian goods began to be imported only during the latter half of the century: almond, betel or areca, cattle, clarified butter, coconut, coriander and other spices, dried fruits, finger millet, furniture, gunpowder, Italian millet, lime, limes, oils, peas, poultry, salted fish, scrap metal, sheep, sulphur, toddy, tools, turmeric, wheat.

European articles imported to the Nilgiris in the later nineteenth century included wines, spirits, beer, clothing, candles, groceries, pottery, glass, hardware, shoes, books and stationery. It is unclear how much of these were destined for consumption by the European settlers.

Among the exports from the plateau at this time were some that had also been exported in pre-British days, namely opium, wheat

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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and bees-wax. Other exports of the later nineteenth century were coffee, tea, potato, barley, resin, silk and hides.

AGRICULTURAL CHANGE OVER THE PAST CENTURY

Until 1863 the Badagas not only cultivated fields close to the villages but also practised shifting agriculture in the wooded areas. At that time the government abolished, at least formally, the system of swidden cultivation and thereby posed a serious threat to those Badaga farmers who had depended on it (for full details, see Grigg, 1880, 314-327). According to government experts swidden farming was wasteful of timber resources and led to soil erosion. More significantly, though, there was also an eagerness among British settlers to cover vast tracts of the Nilgiris with tea and coffee plantations. In 1863 the British abolished the revenue system current in the Kundena:du area,[7] which had involved issuing a licence for each hoe and each plough without otherwise taxing or delimiting the land a man could cultivate or recording what acreage he was entitled to use. Until these restrictions came into effect many Badaga farmers made periodic use of lands five to ten times as extensive as their revenue assessments justified.[8] By about 1880 these restrictions, legislated during 1862-1864, had become realities in all parts of the Nilgiris.

The rapidly increasing Badaga population was now faced with a depleted acreage of usable farmland, a situation that worsened with erosion and land sales. For the first time in history their fields, once surveyed and registered in accordance with the Land Settlement rules, came to have a monetary value—especially as under the Waste Land Rules a man's land could be auctioned and thus irretrievably lost if he became too much in arrears with the payment of land revenue. A farmer therefore tried to hold on to as much registered land as he could.[9]

The British land legislation did not cause an immediate shortage of land among the Badagas. On the contrary, Grigg notes (1880, 480) that in the 1870s land was so 'cheap' that the Badagas who did own some or bought more tried to cultivate areas that were too large for their resources, with the result that their labour and capital were spread too thinly across the land to produce adequate returns. The slim yield of soil not properly fertilized and skimpy cultivation of too large an area impelled the poorer farmers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to sell land to British

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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planters or to engage in new occupations so as to earn enough cash to maintain themselves and pay the revenue assessments on their land (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64; Grigg, 1880, 325, 471, 480; Ranga, 1934, 11–14). Those made landless by the restrictions on forest swidden cultivation and also the labour surplus of the immigrant and rapidly expanding population were obliged to work in the plantations for wages, which were primarily used for buying grain in the markets. By 1870 Badaga men were getting contracts as construction gangs, a few women were picking tea or coffee-beans and young boys could be seen breaking stones by the roadside.[10]

Early in this century most Badaga families still owned and cultivated land within two kilometres of their homes. This land was usually hilly and always unirrigated. There was relatively little terracing on the hill-slopes (Grigg, 1880, 470), and most tilling was still done with ploughs and oxen.[11] The best fields lay in the valley flats, not so much because of the proximity of stream water as because of the rich deposit of topsoil. Badagas had long recognized the differences in soils and terrain, both when choosing where to plant crops and when dividing up the patrimony. Soil distinctions were important to them, but distance from the home was even more significant. Land was therefore categorized by Badagas primarily as home-farm (within a half kilometre), outfield, or jungle clearings.[2] The first type got much of the cattle manure and all human refuse; more distant land received little manure and was often left fallow (Grigg, 1880, 319–320, quoting from a Revenue Board Report probably of 1863); jungle clearings were never manured and could lie fallow for several years. Weeding, like manuring, was mostly confined to the more valuable crops growing near the home.

A majority of the cultivable land on the plateau has always belonged to the Badagas; in the mid-nineteenth century this amounted to 12,750 hectares, of which some 6,900 ha. were cultivated each year; but thirty years later 'the occupied area of the plateau has trebled itself... mainly due to the extension of cultivation by the Badaga villagers'. During the twentieth century virtually all of the land under subsistence crops (barley, millets and wheat) as well as plateau land growing market vegetables and fruits was farmed by Badagas and Kotas. On the other hand a majority of the land devoted to tea, coffee and cinchona was in British-owned plantations. Few reliable figures

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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government's making loans available on relatively easy terms for terrace construction (Grigg, 1880, 470; Ranga, 1934, 12–13).

As a result of terracing in many places and minute subdivision elsewhere, fields are usually so small that it has become inefficient, if not impossible, to plough them (Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249). For over forty years therefore the plough and oxen have rarely been seen on the plateau (Ranga, 1934, 12–13; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249; Noble, 1968, 144–145; see below, p. 167, n. 11). Much of the work load formerly carried by oxen is now taken by cheap migrant labourers from the plains; men work for daily wages of three rupees (equivalent to 40 cts. U.S.), and women for two (1970).

While the profits from potato, tea and coffee are very much higher per hectare than those from the traditional grain crops, the risks are also much greater. Not only does a farmer need ready cash to buy seed or cuttings, fertilizer and labour, but reserve cash is needed to feed his family should disease ruin the crop one season. Here the co-operative societies set up under state government guidance have helped Badagas somewhat, but less than might be expected. Short-term loans are available against land securities for all members of a society,[20] and long-term loans are obtainable from the Land Mortgage Bank (established in 1937).

Before the appearance of these facilities the money-lender (a Tamilian Chettiar, a northern Marwari or a Moslem) was an ominous figure in the lives of many Badagas; for some he still is. Early in the present century the monthly interest on his loans ranged from 3% to 12.5% of the principal, but though these rates were quite extortionate loans were in general repaid (Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 64; Madras, 1928, 55; Ranga, 1934, 4). In the previous century not even these loan facilities were accessible to Badagas: they could only borrow from wealthy Badagas, preferably those related to the borrower by marriage but living in a village at some discreet distance from him. No interest was charged on such loans then.

The first Badaga co-operative society was formed at Kereha:da in 1911, the 'Kerhada Rice Rural Credit Society', named in reference to Mr. S. P. Rice, a former Collector who had initiated interest in the co-operative movement. At that time annual interest rates varied between 24% and 75% of the principal. By 1918 there were eighteen such societies, and by 1927 the plateau had fifty-four agricultural credit societies from which Badagas could get loans

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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(651) cash wage (Grigg, 1880, 34, 471; see above, pp. 149, 152).

(654) (434) Greatly increased contact with markets and with Europeans provided the impetus towards full participation in the cash economy, yet this transition took a century to complete. For the 178 vast majority the basic requirements of food, goods and services continued to be provided either by their own efforts or by their [177] Toda, Kota and Kurumba associates. The itinerant Chetti trader continued to make monthly visits, as he still does. From 1825 onwards Badagas could visit local markets on the plateau for what they had previously bought in Gunḍulupe:te and Ka:ramuḍu, but they never sold very much in the markets and thus rarely had (442) spare cash to spend. In the early days of cash-crop farming very few Badagas had enough knowledge or personal contacts to arrange the bulk sale of their produce in a distant market. They used to sell their crops instead to a broker in the Nilgiris, until it became known that a farmer who could find a market and negotiate a sale by himself would make bigger profits. An important motivation was the desire to acquire consumer goods that were now becoming available on a scale and in a variety (342) never before known to the Badagas. Later in the nineteenth century there is evidence of increasing affluence which found expression in the shift from thatched to tiled rooves. '... in 1871 only 1,914 houses out of the 13,922 in the district were tiled; whereas now [1908] tiles are the rule... in Badaga villages' (Francis, 1908, 130, compare Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 58; (437) Grigg, 1880, 29, 225; 'Geofry', 1881, 132). For the farming family engaged in marketing their crops, cash was necessarily the only medium of exchange, and much of their foodstuffs had to be (291) bought in the town bazaar. A great variety of items was also being purchased, the most obvious of which were new clothes: in the 1890s men first began to sport European-style shirts and jackets, and in the 1930s women started to wear coloured *sa:ris* (B.E.M.S., 1897, no. 58, 90; Hockings, 1979a).

We may say that their commitment to the cash economy was complete by about 1930, in which year most Badagas permanently severed their traditional exchange relationship with the Kotas. This from the Badaga point of view was an advantageous move, for it allowed them to buy pottery, ropes and metal goods in the bazaar at a lower price than the Kotas commanded, and without delays. While the Kotas had not been receiving cash, the traditional dole of grain they were given at each harvest was becoming

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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178 increasingly valuable to the Badagas because of rising grain prices (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240).

426 For many Badagas with small land-holdings the transitional
423 period between the two World Wars was marked by the frustrations of indebtedness. Pieces of their land were sometimes sold to non-Badagas in order to pay off outstanding debts—a previously inconceivable practice. Some men went as far as the Annamalai Hills for manual labouring. Badaga debtors did, however, work hard to produce profitable cash crops or at least to buy back some of their former lands (Thurston, 1909, vol. 1, 64; Ranga, 1934, 4; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249).

178 With the First World War, major changes in their marketing
241 practices became apparent. Tea, coffee and cinchona, like potato,
433 presuppose a market beyond the Nilgiris, which in turn presupposes adequate transportation. The crucial demand for vegetables to feed the numerous European troops in India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon stimulated the change in crops documented above (see Table 2). Similar conditions arose again in the Second World War [439] and prompted many more Badagas to try commercial farming. On each occasion cultivators took the risk of exporting potatoes and other vegetables to new and remote markets, and some made handsome profits (Francis, 1908, 167). The risks in this enterprise were real, for men could recall occasions when floods broke the road or rail connections or the goods reached their destination only • [197] after market prices had fallen heavily. The rewards of potato cultivation were, however, of critical importance in lifting the yoke of indebtedness: during World War II the British made a great deal of capital available to Badaga farmers, as part of the 'Grow More Food' campaign. This finance and the profits from selling their highly priced potatoes did more than any cooperative loan facility to relieve the indebtedness that Badagas had been suffering under for several decades.

245 While tea and coffee yield a higher profit per hectare than potatoes or grains, they are more susceptible to disease than the millets and require greater agricultural skill than all other Nilgiri crops if they are to attain the standards required by wholesale purchasing agents. Moreover they need to be produced in large enough quantity to warrant the processing and transportation to [442] Bombay (since 1940, to Cochin). Middlemen, both Badagas and others, were therefore indispensable to the few Badaga tea and coffee growers of the 1920s and 1930s. Middlemen could act as a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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a large landowner this latter system was quite efficient and profitable, even though he had to feed those who were working in his fields and was also obliged to give them a big feast on the last day of their field-work *(kambuwa)* which enhanced social solidarity. These two techniques of co-operative labour also benefitted the landless, for they could thereby share in the harvest of someone else or at least be more regularly fed.

In the early decades of this century immigrant Kanarese and Tamilians, some of them the creditors of Badaga farmers, began to buy up former Badaga land and farm it with the help of labourers, both poor Badagas and immigrants. It was probably this trend which led those who worked on Badaga farms to expect payment in cash rather than a share of the harvest or a mutual exchange of labour. Those patterns of co-operation have passed away. The educated would now rather remain unemployed than work in a neighbour's field, and with the transition to cash-crop farming most feel it is not worth helping someone else reap his profit. Things were different when co-operative farming helped put food into the village's granary baskets.

Among rural Badagas the old order has not been replaced by a class society. We can only identify a land-owning class, a tenant class and a labouring class in the larger rural society which embraces other communities as well. The land-owners who are Badagas generally prefer Tamilian or Kanarese tenants, as it is easier to lay down stiff terms for rental and to become stern when such non-Badagas fail to pay the rent after an unsuccessful season. Badaga tenants have too many ways of pressuring their landlord into overlooking their inability to pay rent on time. The agricultural labourers are normally lowland immigrants, too. It is considered somewhat demeaning for Badagas to take on such work, especially under a Badaga proprietor. Social classes are thus not yet to be found among Badaga villagers, and the three main social categories in farming are seen by Badagas as occupational and caste differences.

The present range of occupations of both Badagas and other rural communities is suggested by Table 3, derived from a rough sample of adolescent and adult males aged 15 to 85. Clearly farm work is still the most prevalent activity, but now a substantial proportion of men in the rural population are working in occupations (categories V to IX) that typify participation in a monetary economy.[27]

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Table 3. *Occupations of the interviewed males, 1963*

		Rural Badagas	*All other Nilgiri rural communities*
I	Cultivating own or rented land	59.6%	30.7%
II	Agricultural labourer	5.0%	32.3%
III	Forestry and livestock	0.0%	7.4%
IV	Cottage industries	0.7%	5.8%
V	Manufacturing	3.7%	1.6%
VI	Construction	4.0%	2.6%
VII	Trade and business	0.3%	6.9%
VIII	Transport and communications	3.7%	4.2%
IX	Teaching and 'professions'	13.0%	5.3%
X	Non-workers, students	10.0%	3.2%
		(*n*=301)	(*n*=189)

178 184 182 619 [621]

The 1970s find an increasing number of young, college-educated Badagas settling in towns with their wives and taking well-paid jobs. These people still observe community endogamy, but in other respects their behaviour suggests that the distinctive identity of the Badaga community is nearing its end. It is no longer uncommon for urban Badagas to address rural Badagas in Tamil rather than their own language: ashamed of the state government's designation of their people as a 'Backward Class',[28] they are trying to merge with the South Indian city society and deny what they consider an 'uncivilized' parentage. Few such people regularly visit their native villages now. Once marriage with non-Badagas increases and becomes acceptable the palisade around their community will have fallen.

NOTES

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1. Even though there was no tax-farmer on the plateau to harrass them until 1807; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 247.

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2. Harkness, 1832, 138, note; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 17; Grigg, 1880, 455–456; Francis, 1908, 167; Price, 1908, 23; Hockings, 1973, 867. According to Metz, 1864, 5, Sullivan came to the Nilgiris 'at the solicitation of the hill-people themselves'. Sullivan, in a letter to the Board of Revenue in 1819, explained that 'the inhabitants are extremely anxious to have their lands measured, under an idea that they are paying more than they ought to do'; Grigg, 1880, 280. Another early influence on Badaga farming may have been the experimental farm for European crops operating at Ke:ti from 1830 to

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1836; Metz, 1864, 6-7; Grigg, 1880, 456-458; Macleane, 1893, 403; Francis, 1908, 203, 441.

3. Metz, 1864, 8-9; an anna was 1/16 rupee, worth just under one U.S. cent today.

4. Grigg, 1880, 288, quoting from a report of December 1827; yet Harkness, 1832, 111, remarked that 'The poorer Burghers form the only class of labourers now to be procured on the hills . . .'

5. B.E.M.S., 1848, no. 18, 93; 1860, no. 20, 59; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64; Grigg, 1880, 510-511; Watt, 1889, 465; Francis, 1908, 171, 178; Tanna, 1970, 17, 37. Tea was first grown here experimentally in 1835 from Chinese seeds, and coffee in 1838; Macleane, 1893, 403.

6. Baikie, 1857, 38, 92; Markham, 1862, 367; Metz, 1864, 99, 152-154; Ouchterlony, 1848, 2, 5, 28; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 71; Grigg, 1880, 465-467. The more important items in the list are identified botanically above, p. 146. n. 7.

7. Transferred back to Coimbatore District from Malabar in 1860; Grigg, 1880, 309, 322-323; Macleane, 1893, 216; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 78-79.

8. Grigg, 1880, 316, 321. On the shortcomings of their agriculture in this period, see Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 31-36; Grigg, 1880, 480; 'Geofry', 1881, 132-135.

9. Grigg, 1880, 325. The Settlement of land holdings took place in 1864-1884; Grigg, 1880. 321-323.

10. B.E.M.S., 1858, no. 18, 93; 1860, no. 20, 59; McPherson, 1870, 15, 18, 21; Grigg, 1880, 34, 219-220. Tea-pickers were usually lowland labourers, for Badaga women were then afraid of being near jungle even when in gangs.

11. A few ploughs are still in use near the Si:gu:ru Pass; other villages preserve old ploughs to venerate at an annual ceremony; but in general ploughs went out of use fifty years ago; Ranga, 1934, 8.

12. Francis, 1908, 165-166; Ranga, 1934, 11-14. The lands are called respectively *ha:jihola, ka:duhola* and *so:lahola;* see Plate I.

13. Grigg, 1880, 13, citing Ouchterlony, 1848, 14; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 14. It may be illuminating to cite an example of one administrative 'village'—Ke:ti Village—which reflects how much of the plateau land was formerly owned by Badagas. The available figures come from the 1881 land settlement records and show how 3235 hectares of this particular 'village' (actually a grouping of nearly two dozen villages) were distributed in the last years before the widespread adoption there of a cash economy:

Badaga farming lands	2,083 ha.
Badaga grazing ground	204 ha.
Toda grazing lands	51 ha.
Village sites (mainly Badaga)	90 ha.
Government forest areas	123 ha.
Anglo-Indian orphanage and school	307 ha.
Plantations (mainly British-owned)	175 ha.
Government cinchona plantation	2 ha.
Available for sale	200 ha.

(Source: Benson, 1881, 188-189)

From these data it is clear that this area, by no means an atypical one, was farmed largely by Badagas. (The 200 h.a. 'for sale' is somewhat misleading; it

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was mostly in steep rocky places ill-suited to any cultivation.)

14. Grigg, 1880, 321, mentions there were 29,912 acres (12,105 ha.) of farming land on the plateau in 1862–1863 but considers this 'a fictitious number'. Fifteen years earlier Ouchterlony had estimated that the Badagas alone used 12,750 ha.; Grigg, 1880, 13.

15. It is 19 km. by road from Ootacamund and embraces the Badaga commune of So:lu:ru.

16. That Sholur was not atypical in this respect is suggested by the fact that in 1867 the average number of persons per Badaga household for the entire district was 4.36; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 61.

17. Land utilization figures for the entire district, 1905–1960, in Nambiar (1965), do not isolate the role of Badaga agriculture.

18. Ranga, 1934, 68. As early as 1908 Francis (p. 167) noted: 'Potatoes are much exported to Ceylon, the Straits [Malaya] and Burma . . .' It was in 1908 that the railway connecting Ootacamund with the plains was completed.

19. Ranga, 1934, 14–15, 18–22. 'In fact many planters advance money to Badagas to enable them to dig pits and plant tea . . . with the intention of being able to purchase that land'; Ranga, 1934, 15.

20. Merchants also granted credit for purchase of daily needs—at much inflated prices; Ranga, 1934, 73–74; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249. Such traders are an excellent example of Simmel's 'resident stranger', whose presence catalyses a peasant economy by affording credit; Simmel, 1923, 509–512.

21. De:vaso:le, Kolekombe, Se:las, Gudalu:ru, Manju:ru, Ki:kotagiri, Nedugula, and Naduvatta; Baikie, 1857, 38, 88; Grigg, 1880, 471.

22. Nambiar, 1965, 23. The first time this problem beset Badaga farmers was in 1880; B.E.M.S., 1880, no. 41, 37; Grigg, 1880; 134.

23. Ranga, 1934, 7–9. Badaga contractors had been involved in such work since the mid-nineteenth century; McPherson, 1870, 21.

24. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 753; Francis, 1908, 129; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 63; Ranga, 1934, 8; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 248. These jobs included builders, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, clerks, domestic servants, painters, gardeners, washermen, teachers, printers, forest guards, tailors, barbers, water-carriers, stone-breakers, rickshaw-pullers, and even coolies and scavengers.

25. Jagor, 1876, 201–202; unlike most Hindus the Badagas do not employ washermen.

26. These were mainly Christians.

27. The categories are taken from the 1961 *Census of India*.

28. The designation is not recent; Francis, 1908, 265. On the Backward Classes generally, see Béteille, 1969, 87–145. Very recently the Nilgiri Hill Tribe Badaga Welfare Association was formed to promote government action in classifying Badagas as Scheduled Tribe, which would have material advantages for the community.

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2. A *commune* can be defined as the smallest administrative unit above the village, consisting of a number of contiguous villages under one headman and council; compare the definition in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 1933, vol. II, 698. The commune used to be found in Serbia, and as the *tambon* it is a basic administrative unit in Thailand; there the headmen of the villages constituting a *tambon* elect one of their number to be commune chief.

3. *u:r gauda*, or *natame*. An exceptional area near De:na:ḍu, on the eastern rim of the plateau, was so isolated and broken in terrain that it was only around 1960 that the nine Toda villages there formed a commune and elected a man from Tumbimale as their *u:r gauda;* before that they had recognized as a higher authority the headman of De:na:ḍu, a Wodea who was also the *parpati* (see below, note 5) for Poraṅga:ḍu.

4. *kaṭṭi gauda;* small villages may do without a headman for years.

5. *parpati*, or *si:me gauda;* Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 80–81.

6. *na:ku beṭṭu gauda*, often referred to as Tu:ne:ri *Manegar*. (See Plate 4.)

7. Much the same system of headmen has been noted in the South Canara, Coimbatore and Coorg Districts; see, respectively, Thurston, 1909, vol. II, 269–272; Nambiar & Bharathi, 1965, 10, 63; Srinivas, 1965, 57–59.

8. Until some thirty years ago wealthy Badaga households had Badaga serfs, mainly from the poverty-stricken area of Kundena:ḍu, who were children bound to serve for a period of from five years (in the case of pre-puberty girls) to a maximum of twenty-one years (in the case of some youths). In return they received food and housing, and their parents were paid a sum of money. Those in servitude were generally well treated, being like children of the households where they worked. Harkness, 1832, 115, notes they were paid two or three rupees *per annum*.

9. Such divine utterances have not been given credence in this century but oaths have. The scale of oaths, in order of increasing severity, is this: (1) to assert 'it is true!' (2) to pull up some grass with the finger-nails and throw it onto the meeting-ground; (3) to touch the ground with one hand; (4) to put a cloth one is wearing on the ground and step over it; (5) to lay one's child on the ground and step over him—if a false oath, the child will magically die; (6) if non-vegetarian, to sacrifice a goat at the temple; (7) to visit the temple at a set time and swear one's innocence before the god. Divine punishment will fall on whoever breaks such oaths.

10. If after disposal of a case further evidence came to hand the headman could reopen the discussion and perhaps reach a different decision; this might protect him from being fined for a faulty judgment by a higher headman.

11. Grigg, 1880, 366; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 831; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 79–80. The Collector was always British.

12. These received the title of *sub-manegar* and a small salary from the British administration.

13. Officially these two roles entailed the following: "The head of the village [*manegar*] is the representative of Government in the village. He is the village magistrate and head of the village police. He is the collector of the revenue of the village over which he presides, and has also to perform [miscellaneous small] duties . . . The karnam, who is entrusted with the keeping of village accounts, is subordinate to the head of the village. He should help and advise the head . . . in every way. He is the clerk of the head of the village in his

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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127 latter part of the last century (Basel Mission, 1905, *passim*) leaves no doubt of a deep disturbance among Badagas during this period. Three distinct factors were responsible:

Land Legislation

656 The censuses for the last few decades of the nineteenth century record a steady increase in the Nilgiri population (both Badaga and other), implying a need for more farm-land. The British administrators responded, however, with several legislative moves (241) to conserve land resources. They stopped the traditional Badaga practice of swidden farming, in which men cleared as much forest-land as they needed and farmed it for a few years before moving elsewhere. (To the British this practice was wasteful of land, and they believed it led to soil erosion.) As an additional check on the wasteful use of large tracts they compiled an exhaustive register of all land holdings in the district, the Final Land Settlement (1881–1884), and made this the basis for annual (423) assessment of land revenues. Land holdings were restricted to a maximum of five hundred acres (202 ha.). Even the custom of cutting timber in nearby jungles was prohibited by the Madras Forest Act (1882). In the years 1863–1882 legislation thus changed (182) the whole complexion of the Badaga farm economy and prompted doubts in many Badagas about the very survival of their community and culture. The situation was aggravated over this period by the continuing extension of eucalyptus, cinchona, tea and coffee plantations.

Missionary Activity

● 177 The sense of uncertainty was further aggravated by missionary attempts to convert Badagas to Christianity. This went on for many decades, and the extent of Badaga opposition to it was in a sense defined in 1856, when they burnt down the mission's rest-house at Kallatti (B.E.M.S., 1856, no. 16, 27, note). At about the same time the Revd. Metz (1864, 137) noted that 'some parties were so hostile to me that they intended bribing a Kurumba to kill me by sorcery . . . In one place the Badagas created a disturbance, and refused me admittance into their village . . .'. In 1858 the first

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Protestant conversion occurred, and from then onward the ranks of Christians slowly increased, prompting a realistic fear among Badagas that their society would be split into two factions or parties each avoiding the other. Nothing comparable had ever occurred among the Todas or Kotas, nor had anyone in the Nilgiris been converted to Islam.[1] In the view of Badaga Hindus the techniques of proselytizing were as unsavoury as they were materialistic: the converts were told not to marry Hindus and were presented with comely Christian brides converted sometimes from communities other than the Badagas (or so it is claimed by present-day informants). Furthermore the missionaries occasionally arranged land grants for converts prevented from using their family's customary farming land; they often received loans from mission funds at the low interest rate of six percent; missionaries also helped converts obtain employment with European families and officials.[2] Though the Christians were always outcast, their existence still threatened to subvert the traditional values of Badaga culture and to some extent did so.

The Basel Mission established its first Nilgiri station at Ke:ti village in 1846, on a large property given them by George Casamajor, a retired judge.[3] In 1867 another station was opened in Kotagiri. In 1888 a Roman Catholic priest began proselytizing with scant success among some of the Protestant converts. In 1909 the Basel Mission opened a third outpost at Kallaṭṭi (Harvest Field, 1909, vol. XX, 477–478; Tignous, 1911, 156).

In the early years of the mission's work on the Nilgiris the Germans established a pattern of itinerant preaching that continued until they were expelled from India at the start of World War I. The ideal of their programme was for a missionary with a catechist to visit every Badaga village in turn. But there were some 370 villages and as missionaries were few, their health sometimes poor and travel by no means easy (journeys were mostly on foot), a village was usually visited only once a year for a few days at most. Sometimes the missionaries were welcome, sometimes not. Some of these men approached the villagers in an arrogant manner which did nothing to endear Badagas to Christianity. The Germans commonly turned up at ceremonies, especially funerals, to preach to the large crowds at these events (B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 23; 1850, no. 10, 23; 1851, no. 11, 34; 1853, no. 13, 38; 1859, no. 19, 69; 1869, no. 30, 74; 1875, no. 36, 37; 1879, no. 40, 75). It was while preaching at a fire-walking ceremony that Metz, who had been

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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nicknamed 'three-quarters God', lost face through declining an invitation to prove the superiority of his religion by walking across the fire.[4]

As another missionary recalled:

> The proclamation of the Gospel, which was repeated again and again in every village with scarcely any exception, met with an increasing opposition, till at last it became a great trial of faith and patience to go on preaching to the same well known and apparently hopeless generation. From the proverbially timid Badaga we even heard expressions like these:—'You have ruined our country, why do you come to us?—stay at home!' (Mörike, 1858, 96).

Apparently the missionaries capitalized on the misfortunes that struck at the Badaga community: on one occasion of drought (in 1859), the missionaries blamed the disaster on the continuing worship of idols; on another occasion Metz reported:

> The famine may have helped to awaken in many a fear of the wrath of God.... Especially one day, after four Badagas had been burned in one house... people were eager to hear the Word and ask questions about it, so that it was quite refreshing to me (B.E.M.S., 1866, no. 27, 78–79).

In 1855 missionaries prompted the government to issue a ban on Badaga fire-walking. The move back-fired, however, for a village had burnt down at about the same time, and this was considered a manifestation of the Badaga deity's wrath (B.E.M.S., 1855, no. 15, 39).

The mission schools were another important means of evangelizing. A school had been founded at Ke:ti in 1845, and by 1859 nine others were in operation. At first Badaga parents in the neighbouring villages were given one anna a day (½ cent U.S.) as inducement to send their unconverted children there rather than have them work in the fields. The schools were intended to create a favourable impression among the Hindus, but the missionaries recorded that the frequent changes of schoolmasters, their indifference to teaching, their loose morals and the periodic closure of the schools led to a halting literacy but scarcely any conversions.[5] A permanent

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day-school was established by the mission in 1871, yet the drawbacks remained.[6] No industrial training was given at these institutions. Only in the 1880s did the Badagas begin to appreciate the merit of schooling: the number of schools on the Nilgiri Plateau 'was only 3 in 1879, but 21 in 1889, and 36 in 1889'.[7]

Natural Calamities

A third class of stress-producing factors in the experience of nineteenth-century Badagas was one of natural disasters, sometimes drought, sometimes epidemics, sometimes earthquake, sometimes famine. Badagas were not slow to attribute these calamities to the mission.[8]

Yet on a few occasions the disasters were so intense that they prompted hundreds of people to turn to the German missionaries for sustenance. In 1877 especially the general famine and crop failure led to a steep rise in food prices in the Nilgiris and to a heavy immigration of indigents from the plains. Beggars came to Ke:ti in hundreds, and the missionaries had to restrict their alms-giving to the old and the sick. The mission established some relief-work for Christians and distributed rice to their congregation; and this clearly prompted many, especially the relatives of previous converts and people familiar with the Gospel, to forsake Hinduism. 'Their idols, some said, had been of no use to them in this calamity, they would now follow the God of the Christians.'[9] The missionaries were glad to enlarge their flock, but by the end of the century some of them became more realistic about the motives prompting Badagas to convert. Thus a Badaga pastor, Jacob Kanaka, noticed that 'The larger number of the famine-converts came from the village Tandanadu, the abode of a heart-hardened people and the seat of idol-worship in this district.'[10]

Indeed it would be no exaggeration to say that the Badagas came to the mission more often for temporal than for spiritual aid. In the 1870s mission staff felt many were willing to convert, yet seemed 'more concerned about their debts of money than those of sin; they promise to embrace Christianity if their debts will be paid by the Mission' (B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45; 1850, no. 10, 23; 1897, no. 58, 53–54). The missionary was commonly sought out in times of sickness when herbal therapy failed. Food was often begged from the mission people too. Thus, for example, a hungry Hindu

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Badaga asked a Christian woman for food, and she remarked on the risk of her polluting him. The man answered: 'In your Bible it is written: If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. Therefore consider me as your enemy and act in accordance with your Bible.' The woman had to give the knowing heathen food (B.E.M.S., 1906, no. 67, 82).

Instances of spiritual aid being sought by Hindus from the missionary should also be noted, however; particularly at times of sickness and death: 'You are our Padre . . . if you only look at the sick or put your hand on their heads, they will feel relieved' (B.E.M.S., 1905, no. 66, 68).

REACTIONS OF THE BADAGAS TO EVANGELIZATION

Missionary activity and the other stress-producing factors we have mentioned led to a wide variety of reactions among nineteenth-century Badagas. Some attempted to incorporate Christianity into their own religion or to bolster their religion so that it might be as effective as Christianity; some attacked or intimidated the converts; some threatened the missionaries; some murdered Kurumba sorcerers; some took to opium or liquor; many became involved in factional disputes; while a few ignored the wishes of their relatives and were converted.

Conversion (1) was at one end of a spectrum of reactions that also included (2) quiet acceptance of much in Christian teaching, but without formal conversion; (3) ambivalent feelings leading a man to seek and appreciate temporal help from the missionaries, but only when he could not possibly do without it; (4) ignorance of Christianity and an uncomfortable avoidance of the missionaries; (5) ostracism and threats of violence directed against missionaries, converts and potential converts; (6) physical violence, using sticks, stones, fists and blunderbusses against converts.

Attempts to Syncretize Christianity and Hinduism

One reported pattern of behaviour among Hindu Badagas exposed to proselytization was the attempt to syncretize the two religions. As early as 1849 some people were praying to the 'God Jesus', and in 1850 a headman was heard to invoke Jesus among other gods as he knelt on the bank of a stream during a Hindu

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ceremony (B.E.M.S., 1850, no. 10, 23; compare B.E.M.S., 1854, no. 14, 41). Then, as later, Christ was considered *another* Hindu god, perhaps an *avata:r* of Vishnu.[11] Even the missionary could be incorporated into Hindu thinking. Metz, for example, once visited the village where a woman had just committed suicide by swallowing opium (the common method then among Badagas). As he had previously condemned her for leaving her husband and taking a lover he was now treated with great circumspection: the frightened villagers took him for either a sorcerer or a god (Metz, 1864, 71–76). Missionaries were sometimes called 'Shiva kandidhone—Swami kandidhone', the man who has seen Shiva (B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45).

The 'Christian temple' was another case of syncretism. In one village Badagas claimed that a vision of Christ had appeared to them, telling them to believe the preachers. These people promised to build a Christian temple, which they did around 1855. In it they enshrined a New Testament in the Tamil language. A legend quickly developed that every night Jesus came to taste the milk and bananas offered on his altar. But when Metz visited that village in 1863 he found the temple fallen into disrepair and the village nearly deserted. He blamed this on the current famine; the Badagas tended to blame the famine on *him*. This was the occasion already alluded to, when the Badagas interpreted the preacher's explanation of Christ's authority as meaning that Christ was responsible for the death and starvation at that time (Metz, 1864, 69–70; Reclus, 1891, 239–240).

In the same year the Badagas of that particular village went to a temple for divination and asked: 'Is he who is called Jesus Christ a good Swami [lord]?' The response was negative (Metz, 1864, 71; Reclus, 1891, 238–240). Another instance of Hindu practices being directed towards the mission was cited by Wieland. A child in Ke:ti was sick; its Hindu father promised to give five rupees to the Christian God if He would cure the child. As the child subsequently recovered the missionary was given the coins (B.E.M.S., 1907, no. 58, 68). Such action is traditional and quite routine in Hindu temples all over India.

On one occasion the Badaga boys rushed from a school in consternation when a missionary asked them to repeat a prayer after him, for they feared that 'If we say the *mantroum* of the Christians, Christ will hear, Christ will come, Christ will carry us off!' (Reclus, 1891, 239–240).

In general we may say that Badagas found Christianity of some relevance to them only when they could treat it as an aspect of their own Hindu religion. The manner in which the spiritual message of Christianity was presented led to some wild misunderstandings of what Christianity stood for. Badagas could not comprehend why anyone should want to be converted. They asked Metz (1864, 138) if the new converts '... would soon mount horses and ride about like Europeans, and whether they had got plenty of money by the change?' Clearly some Badagas were viewing conversion as a process of social mobility whereby one should adopt the behaviour patterns of Europeans and abandon those of Badagas; and in this they were not altogether mistaken.

Hindu Reformers

The European missionaries were not the only ones to assume an aggressive posture in the conversion arena. The actions of these aliens prompted a counter-movement of Hindu proselytizing, using evangelistic methods to make the Badagas (and other communities) more orthodox Hindus. These Brahminic missionaries belonged to the Hindu Tractate Group of Madras City, and they visited a number of Badaga villages to distribute pamphlets and set up their own short-lived schools (B.E.M.S., 1854, no. 14, 41; Eppler, 1900, 306).

A Hindu reform movement that developed without any aid from outside emerged in the village of Edapalli in 1892. There the young Badaga men formed an organization called the Society of Virtuous People (or *Yedapullu Sajjana Sangha*; B.E.M.S., 1892, no. 53, 77–78). Among various proposals they advocated cleanliness of body and home, an end to tattooing, education for girls, cessation of lavish spending and of dancing to music at the funerals, stopping the use of drugs and intoxicants, and general adoption of monogamy (except that if one wife proved barren a second wife could be taken but the first should remain with the husband). The account of this society shows it aimed to put right the various 'evils' of Badaga life that Europeans had for so long been condemning. (One automatically thinks of the close parallel between this organization and the Arya Samaj in North India, also active in the last decades of the nineteenth century.) It is worth noting that, while nothing further is heard of the Society of

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Virtuous People, the village of Eḍapalli became strongly Gandhian in the 1930s and today retains this idealism, has a well-balanced mixed farming economy and an optimistic outlook on the future—a combination of factors that is quite rare in Badaga villages. It was also the first village to send a Badaga to the United States for post-graduate training. Eḍapalli seems to have been a progressive community for some generations.

The Destruction of the Temples

Building and destroying temples were equated in Badaga thinking with establishing or destroying a religion. In one village, as we have seen, Badagas sympathetic to some aspects of Christianity built a temple to Jesus in which they placed the New Testament they had been given. In another village Metz knew some Badagas who were willing to pray with him but not openly to call themselves Christians. They even asked him to pull down their Hindu temple. Metz suggested it would be better if they showed their faith by doing this themselves. They refused but did remove the *pu:ja* offerings at the temple and kneel in front of it while the missionary prayed with them (Metz, 1864, 135–136).

In 1864 a Protestant chapel was consecrated in the Badaga village of Ne:rikambe, and in 1865 famine hit the Nilgiris. Some of the Badaga leaders felt this happened because their gods were not properly honoured, and during the next few months many villages went through the unprecedented steps of tearing down their temples and building new, bigger ones in their place. By this means the people hoped to regain the favour of the gods and counter the influence of the mission. It is noteworthy that brick, a European novelty which up until this time had rarely been used in Badaga building, was the material of these new temples; stone is the usual material even today. In one large village several temples were destroyed by the headman and four new ones built, two of them for gods not previously worshipped there.[12] The process of rebuilding temples continued for several decades and affected 'almost all the villages' (B.E.M.S., 1870, no. 31, 22–23; 1905, no. 66, 66).

Sanctions against Conversion

Social pressures were constantly being exerted on converts, their

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child ... The wife had promised to join him [in Christianity]. But on his return from Church the first Sunday, he found the door of his house locked, and his wife did not dare open it for him. Next day his father-in-law came, and took her and her child away to Adhikarhatti. His whole house was pillaged, and property to the value of several hundred rupees was taken away; even his potato field was dug up by his father-in-law. Shortly afterwards Mada's wife returned and was about to fulfil the promise she had made her husband before his conversion that she would also become a Christian. But next day her brother took her away by force, and after a few days she was sold [i.e., married after payment of bridewealth] to another husband. Only the little babe was left to Mada.

The bereaved husband then tried to get back his wife and his property by the help of the law ... But the [Moslem Police] Inspector treated the Christian witnesses with marked rudeness and would not listen to their evidence. Their depositions were sometimes taken down contrary to what was affirmed, in spite of [the missionary] Mr. Lütze's protests, while the witnesses of the opposite party were fully heard and recorded. Mada's wife was constantly surrounded by heathen Badagas, and when her husband asked her whether she had left him of her own free will or by compulsion ... she could only reply as she was told by the Badagas ... At last the police declared that the defendant [her father] had committed no unlawful action, and the case was dismissed ... Heathen neighbours and relations promised [Mada] their assistance to get back his wife and property, on condition that he returned to caste; Kalla especially pledged himself to that end. Mark [Mada] hesitated and wavered ... He stayed away from divine service, and when Kalla carried off Mark's wife by force from the neighbouring village and brought her back to him, when most of the plundered property also came back, he gave way ... (B.E.M.S., 1893, no. 54, 87–88; Harvest Field, 1894, ser. 3, vol. V, 546–551; Lütze, 1894, 22–23).

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(2) About the beginning of 1893, several young men of Kerehada ... came repeatedly to Mr. Lütze, mostly at night, to express their willingness to become Christians. They were Kalla, ... Karcha, the son, and Konga, the nephew of the *headman* of the village. They broke caste and openly spoke against idolatry and heathenism ... After some time Karcha

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and Konga asked [the missionary] to lend them some money to clear off their debts, which prevented their joining the Christians. Mr. Lütze had his suspicions, but Joseph. Kalla's cousin, said it would be wrong to hinder the victory of the gospel: he borrowed the money himself and lent it to the young men, getting a bond from them for the same. Then the three young men came to the mission-house at Kaity [i.e., Ke:ti] and openly joined the Christians ... The news spread like wild fire, and from the villages round to a distance of 15 miles people were flocking into Kaity sitting down inside and outside the mission-compound and trying to persuade the three young men to return to caste. For ten days the entreaties and tears of their female, and the promises and entreaties of their male, relations continued, and repeated endeavors were made to carry them off by force.

At last the young men could stand it no longer. On the 7th. April 1893 Karcha and Konga stole away, and four days afterwards Kalla followed them. By the intrigues of the headman they were after a month re-admitted into caste, and Kalla even succeeded in enticing back his son Madya (Immanuel). The poor boy is now a drunkard and totally ruined. 'It is better to be ruined body and soul than to be a Christian,' that is the opinion held and expressed by many of the heathen. But the heathen Badagas, especially the headman ... were not satisfied with these successes. He induced the backsliders to deny the receipt of the money lent to them by Joseph and to force him to return the bonds. Joseph was threatened by them with a cudgelling and with death if he did not return the bonds. Moved by fear he at last returned them. But his tormentors were not satisfied; they refused acceptance of the bonds. Twice Kalla lay in wait for good-natured Joseph ..., dragged him to a safe place and beat him mercilessly, and Karcha lodged a complaint against Joseph accusing him of fraudulently eliciting a bond from him without paying him the money. He brought false witnesses, who swore to the truth of the complaint.... But the case was decided in favour of Joseph. Cheerfully Joseph and Isaiah returned that day from Coonoor to Kerehada. On the way they found Titus of Chogatorre [So:gatore] and invited him to spend the night with them. So the three men wended their way home, followed at a short distance by Isaiah's daughter and his brother-in-law. Just after they had crossed a deep

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[stream]... Karcha, armed with a cudgel, rushed forward from behind a rock and knocked the three men down. Kalla, Konga and Mark [Mada] also came forth from their hiding place, while the headman of the village with his servants was seen standing at a little distance encouraging the assailants. But as Isaiah's daughter and his brother-in-law called for help, they had to retire. Joseph and Titus were so injured, that they were unable to work for a whole month. Isaiah's arm had to be bandaged. When the assault was inquired into by the police, the assailants turned round and brought a complaint against their victims, whom they represented to have been the aggressors, and sued for Rs. 2,000 damages. This time, however, they were convicted and punished. Daniel also, the brother of Kalla, who had so greatly rejoiced at his brother joining the Christians, had to suffer from Kalla's spite. He drove him, his sick wife and his children out of their own house and locked it. After they got it back, he reaped Daniel's barley crop and filled his verandah with the straw. A few days afterwards the house was partially burned down. In consequence of this, Daniel's wife's illness was so aggravated that she died after long suffering... (B.E.M.S., 1893, no. 54, 88–90; my italics).

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It is apparent from many such cases that the converts, their fellow villagers and even the missionaries were commonly undergoing stress during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Attempts to make the converts return were sometimes legalistic and sometimes not, sometimes violent and sometimes merely argumentative. Much of the behaviour that marked these feuds drew its form and inspiration from the old practice of ostracism. Even before the British came to the Nilgiris Badagas had been in the habit of banishing members of the community for certain categories of crime and anti-social behaviour. Such people would then have to clear a patch of land in the jungle and make a new home there or else find a distant village willing to house them. The attempts to exclude converts from their own villages fitted this pattern and obliged the mission to allocate land near its compound for some of the new converts. Male converts who later reverted to Hinduism were readmitted to the Badaga community by a ceremony which involved shaving the head, cutting the thread of the loincloth, and purifying the tongue by burning it with a golden wire or some charcoal ('Miles', 1951, 70).

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Violent opposition to almost every conversion characterized relations between Hindu Badagas and the mission from the time of the first conversion in 1858 to 1904, the last year in which some conversions 'roused a storm of persecution which could only be suppressed by the help of the police' (B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68–69).

At about that time a story was circulating among Badagas and elsewhere in South India that just before Christmas the Christians sacrifice a human and offer the head on their altar; a Freemasons' Lodge in Wellington was said to preserve the skeletons.[14]

Personal Disorientation

There are a number of references in the Nilgiri literature to opium and intoxication. Opium had been produced and taken by the Badagas as early as 1812 at least, when there was an official reference to it (Keys, 1812, li; Macpherson, 1820, lix). But liquor was apparently unknown to them until three decades after their first contacts with the British (Marshall, 1873, 82). It was noted in 1820 (Macpherson, lix) that no intoxicant was distilled, drunkenness was unknown and opium chewed only in moderation. Though opium continued to be taken (Young, 1827, 42), locally made intoxicants were still unknown to the Badagas in 1834 (Ainslie, 1834, 36). By the time the mission was active among them, however, opium-eating was widespread (Metz, 1864, 132; Gover, 1871, 87), even though its manufacture was outlawed by the British in 1854 (Price, 1908, 224). Opium-eating was occasionally a problem in the Christian congregation and continued for long as a solace for the Hindus; it was stated to be on the increase at the turn of the century (B.E.M.S., 1897, no. 59, 64; Basel Mission, 1905, 119, 129–130). Drinking was also an increasing problem at that time: in 1892 the Society of Virtuous People at Edapalli tried to stop the use of liquor and drugs there (B.E.M.S., 1892, no. 53, 77–78; Basel Mission, 1905, 170–172, 179). In 1905, a year of plague, some Badagas near Kotagiri decided their whole community was being ruined by drinking, and '... pledged themselves to their goddess Hette to give it up and to excommunicate [i.e., ostracize] everyone who transgresses this convenant' (B.E.M.S., 1905, no. 66, 68). The next year in Ke:ti Wieland noted that drinking was increasing rapidly among Badagas (B.E.M.S., 1906, no. 67, 63). The anecdotes quoted above contain a specific instance (in 2) of acute stress leading to apparent alcoholism; the Ke:ti

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parish minutes contain other examples.

Although none of the mission sources has suggested the correlation, it can hardly be doubted that the increased use of opium and liquor in the latter half of the last century was generally related to the higher frequency of stressful situations in the lives of most Badagas during that period.

Massacring of Kurumbas

On several occasions (1824, 1836, 1875, 1882, 1887, 1891 and 1900) Kurumbas were massacred by parties of Badagas.[15] The techniques of killing varied from case to case but usually involved burning down a hut or even a whole hamlet to make the slaughter seem accidental. In 1875 a head Kurumba had bewitched a Badaga woman into loving him and had supposedly caused a fever among Badagas. He was killed in a gun duel, and altogether six households of Kurumbas were massacred with axes. The story was immortalized in the epic ballad of *Kadare Gauda*. In the gruesome case of 1882 the family of another sorcerer were impaled and burnt alive. Common to such killings was the fact that they followed closely on some catastrophe in the Badaga village responsible for the carnage, and also that one or two Todas were always involved. According to Badaga witnesses at the ensuing court trials Kurumba sorcerers had caused deaths or epidemics in the Badaga village, and this sorcery might be halted by the massacre only if a Toda, himself considered a sorcerer, were to strike the first blow against the unfortunate Kurumbas.

Thus, for example, a Badaga killed a Kurumba out of fear of his sorcery after epidemic disease had attacked both the villagers and their cattle and a great part of the murderer's family had died. The heavy sentence given that Badaga by a British magistrate was incomprehensible to the community and reportedly 'gave much encouragement to demonology, and tended greatly to increase the insecurity both of themselves and of their cattle' (Harkness, 1832, 83–84). Without questioning why the buffaloes should have been so perturbed at British justice, we cite this as an early example (*c.* 1828) of Badagas' insecurity being aggravated by British official practice.

Occasionally Todas were accused of witchcraft by Badagas. The relation between the accusation and feelings of stress is also dramatically shown in another incident:

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either instance marriages now sometimes occur across the cleavage.

In summary we can say that Badaga factions arise from and give expression to a situation of stress in the community. However, only one of the half-dozen important factional disputes arose directly from the stressful experience of evangelization.

The Cult of Irabattaraya

So far I have described many types of reaction to evangelization and certain calamities without encountering any movement that meets Wallace's (1966, 158–163) criteria for a successful revitalization of a culture. Let us now review what little is known about the cult of the Wodeas' god Irabattaraya (Virabadraya), since this was a kind of eschatological movement.

> A rumour was spread that the God Irabattaraya, born of a white elephant, would come up to the hills within some months bringing to each [Badaga] a true Linga, & consuming Mr. Metz with the breath of his mouth. Even the Todas, ignorant as they are of Vishnoo & Shiva, accepted the mark of Shiva on their foreheads, that they also might be acknowledged by the God as his followers when he would appear. This excited such a sensation among the people, that for some time the proscribed Missionary had the utmost difficulty to get a hearing. But the appointed term elapsed & the god did not make his appearance. At last the news was spread, that Irabattaraya was in Satyamangalam, a town at the bottom of the mountains, performing the same wonders, as Mr. Metz was in the habit of relating of Jesus Christ. Multitudes of sick people, dressed in white, descended the mountain, but came back uncured & disappointed; and after a few weeks the god had disappeared. The impostor appears to have been a Mohammedan juggler. But the people were not yet satisfied. An embassy consisting of 20 men was dispatched on a 5 days' journey into Mysore to ask the old god of the Badagas when he would come up? This frenzy has now passed away. . . .(B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70–71).

The cult, which flared up briefly in 1865, contains features of both the Christian and Hindu religions. In this regard it is worth

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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794 recalling that by the early eighteenth century the Sattiyamaṅgaḷa
●177 population was largely Christian as a result of proselytization
797 there by the Jesuit Fathers, notably Roberto de' Nobili, from 1643 onwards. Persecution by Tippu Sultan, a Moslem (1749–1799), forced the entire town population to revert to Islam or Hinduism (Société des missions-étrangères, 1933, vol. XII, 234–235; 1938, vol. XVII, 632–633). One is thus left in doubt whether the Irabattaraya cult drew some of its inspiration from this earlier contact with Christianity or whether missionaries in Sattiyamaṅgaḷa in the 1860s prompted this anti-missionary movement.[18]

CONCLUSION

121 In asking whether Badaga reaction to stress either restored an equilibrium or amounted to a revitalization movement, we must recall the features of revitalization outlined by Wallace and Fuchs.[19] Wallace's view of revitalization as a social process stems from the general hypothesis that under certain circumstances a particular sequence of events is likely to follow.

First, he says (Wallace, 1966, 158–163), a society is in a 'steady state' when disorganization and stress remain tolerable to most people. Certain social groups may find some stressful incident intolerable but their restricted 'correction' does not overthrow the entire social system. Then increasingly large numbers of people may encounter stress from climatic or biotic change, war and conquest, social subordination and acculturation. There follows a sharp rise in crime, illness, alcoholism and anti-social behaviour. A third phase occurs when some people attempt to restore an equilibrium by certain socially dysfunctional means, such as by attacks on 'scapegoat' groups. Individual aberrations become institutionalized efforts to eradicate The Evil.

Once such severe 'cultural distortion' has occurred the society can usually return to a 'steady state' only through a revitalization process. This involves the following recognizable characteristics, according to Wallace: (1) a code is formulated, transforming the stressful conditions into an ideal society; (2) the code is preached in an evangelistic spirit to attract converts; (3) the movement becomes organized with the formulator of the code, the disciples and the sympathetic followers; (4) the code is adapted to face outside threats and to clarify ambiguities; (5) a large part of the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Hindu Badaga community continued to exist as a distinct, mainly endogamous group, with its own characteristic language and culture, and beside it there emerged a Christian community. What had happened to relieve the tensions that we have documented? Several features of the changing social condition can be mentioned here as a partial answer.

Accommodation of the Christian Community

After the final outburst of protest in 1904 the Hindus were no longer openly antagonistic to every new conversion (B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68–69). The community of Christian Badagas was by then so large, so influential with the Europeans, so well schooled and thus so powerful that it could no longer be threatened and attacked with impunity. The Badaga Christians came to be regarded as a caste, separate and inferior to the Badaga Hindus. Having thus been assigned a position in the social organization of the Nilgiris the Christians no longer posed such a serious question about the continuance of Badaga society. After the expulsion of German missionaries in 1914, the Basel Mission on the Nilgiris passed into the hands of the less evangelistic Wesleyan Mission. A stable family and economy were so encouraged among the Christians that they became something of a reference model for the remainder of the Badaga community in these respects. The first schoolteachers, the first government clerks, the first college graduates, the first factory workers and even the first published writers among the Badagas were Christian.

Major Factions Became Permanent

Like the division between Christians and Hindus, and another between Lingayats approving of marriages with Kanarese girls and those opposed to it, the factional division between Ha:ruvas and those who did not acknowledge their claims to Brahminic status became a persistent feature of Badaga social organization. Even today every lineage belongs to one or the other of these factions. We might wonder whether the rapid increase in the Badaga population over the past century has led to a growing awareness of impersonality in the community, which this and later factional splits have counteracted by 'dismissing' large sectors of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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reduce its tensions and achieve something like a 'steady state' based on a cash-crop economy and the institutionalization of certain social divisions which were the major cleavages during the time of troubles in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. More recently one Badaga was converted to Islam and was being trained to proselytize that faith on the Nilgiris; B.E.M.S., 1901, no. 62, 96.
2. Thus two days after the first Badaga conversion, the missionary wrote: 'I went with Abraham into the coffee plantation yesterday in order to present him to his master as a Christian and to ensure his work as a plantation supervisor there'; trans. from Mörike, 1858, 93. Basel Mission (1905) contains full details of the frequent loans, made against pledges of land.
3. Grigg, 1880, 421–422: B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 104. The old mission house, still in use, was built by Lord Elphinstone for his residence in 1840; Grigg, 1880, 458; Macleane, 1893, 403; Francis, 1908, 331.
4. Metz, 1864, 55, reflected: 'Challenged to perform a similar miracle . . . I replied that a much greater wonder than that, was, that I should not cease to love such squalied fellows as they were; and that too, in spite of all the abuse they daily heaped upon me'; compare B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45; 1853, no. 13, 39.
5. B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 44; 1863, no. 23, 50–51; Metz, 1864, 8–9, 56; Grigg, 1880, 424–425; Stokes, 1882, 177; B.E.M.S., 1887, no. 48, 98. By 1864 boys could earn three to five rupees monthly on coffee plantations; this, and the usual parents' contention that 'they have become old without knowing [how] to read or to write and could do their work as well as their forefathers', explain the initial unpopularity of schools; Metz, 1864, 9, note; compare Grigg, 1880, 425.
6. Ke:ti was by no means the first Badaga village with a school. One had been established at De:na:du in 1820 or 1821 and another at Ku:kalu around 1830; Ward, 1821, lxx; Harkness, 1832, 69–70; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 113.
7. Eppler, 1900, 306–307; in these years there were respectively 69, 497 and 967 students. See B.E.M.S., 1886, no. 47, 88; 1887, no. 48, 98. In 1904–1905 there were 39 Badaga schools with 1222 pupils; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 64.
8. The epidemic of 1863 was attributed to Jesus, 'because the missionary had but lately been preaching that not a hair, not a bird, can fall to the ground without his [Jesus'] express will and his sovereign command'; Reclus, 1891, 238.
9. B.E.M.S., 1877, no. 38, 15. At this same period, the Revd. Stokes claimed that most of the converts 'embraced the Christian religion from conviction and not from unworthy motives, as is very often the case in the plains where large numbers are gathered in'; B.E.M.S., 1873, no. 34, 32, and Grigg, 1880, 422.
10. B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 110; such a shift in attitudes was not confined to one village.
11. B.E.M.S., 1883, no. 44, 80. It must be remembered the Badagas were then rather ignorant of Hindu scriptures; B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73.

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12. B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70-71; Stokes, 1882, 174; Sawday, 1884, 12-13; Francis, 1908, 130; Tignous, 1911, 116. To meet the cost four rupees were levied from each household. Prior to this time Badaga temples had been round thatched structures; compare Breeks, 1873, pl. LXXV, and B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68, plate.

13. There are many comparable anecdotes in the presbytery minutes and the various mission periodicals.

14. Schad, 1908, 134; Butterworth, 1923, 208. Since fresh skeletons were supposedly collected each Christmas, Badagas would only walk around in groups after dusk during November and December, for fear of European headhunters.

15. Breeks, 1873, 65; Grigg, 1880, 299, 411; Stokes, 1883, *passim*; Francis, 1908, 155; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86; Tignous, 1911, 155; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 50. I have been told of a much more recent instance (not well substantiated, however) in which Badagas burnt down a Kurumba hamlet near Mañjakombe because of the excessive demands for food that a Kurumba watchman had been making.

16. *kāci*, or in one dialect *kaci*; see Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 79 for cognates.

17. Wieland, 1900, 86. The Maṇihaṭṭi priests thought themselves superior as their service was done inside the temple while the Taṅga:ḍu priests remained in the outer precincts. The Taṅga:ḍu Ha:ruvas, who by then included several contractors and were distinctly wealthier than Maṇihaṭṭi people, held that fire-walkers should proceed in order of seniority; and in 1897 the senior-most candidate was an old man from Taṅga:ḍu. After that the festival was celebrated by the two villages on alternate years; see Francis, 1908, 340, and Jogi Gowder, no date, 3-5. In a few years the rift had widened, apparently over a marriage quarrel. A Ha:ruva from Maṇihaṭṭi had asked for the sister's daughter of a Gauda headman. The latter arranged her divorce, and she married the Ha:ruva. He, however had, agreed to pay six rupees worth of finger millet for the divorce but never did, precipitating a long court case and a rift between Ha:ruvas and Gaudas. About 1940 the Gaudas of Me:lu:ru successfully wrested the fire-walking ceremony from the now reunited Ha:ruvas of Maṇihaṭṭi, Taṅga:ḍu and two other villages, causing the latter to celebrate the festival on alternating years at two of their villages, but never more at Me:lu:ru. In effect these Gaudas refuse to acknowledge the ritual superiority of the Ha:ruvas with whom they used to intermarry, and also have won themselves legal recognition as owners of a temple which had previously employed Ha:ruva priests.

18. The London Missionary Society maintained a catechist there in the late nineteenth century, yet by 1891 there were only twenty-eight Christians in a population of 3574; Nicholson, 1898, 424-425.

19. The process of revitalization, though of concern to Max Weber (1946, 1947), was first clarified and labelled by Wallace, 1956, *passim*, and 1966, 158-163; compare Fuchs, 1965, 1-20.

20. Anonymous, 1887, 122. 'The increasing prosperity of the Badagas is unquestionably inclining them to seek instruction for their children'; Grigg, 1880, 426.

21. Fuchs, 1965, 1. He presents many examples of such movements from all over India.

[p. 212 is blank]

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Religious and Social Change in the Twentieth Century

We have seen how some aspects of Badaga culture have undergone significant change, how the economy was monetized, how national systems of law and administration were adopted by Badagas and how a Christian community became a persisting feature of the social organization. We now examine what other religious changes have come about, what has happened to the Christians and how the society has adjusted to new patterns of communication, marriage and residence during the present century.

The process of modernization has brought about some changes in Badaga religion. Temples may nowadays have electric lighting, for example, although strictly electrical cable is a polluting material as it is covered with rubber, which conservative Badagas consider to be 'like leather'. Polluting anthropologists and other strangers, including government dignitaries, are now conducted into some of the temples. Another change has come with the new value placed on time: ceremonies that used to last for three days are now finished in one, those that ran for a week now last for only three days; and in general there is a short-cutting of the inessential elements of ritual. Some ceremonies show signs of dying out, so irrelevant have they become. The annual festival for Be:da Sa:mi ('Lord of the Hunt') is now rarely performed. The aid of this god was sought to protect the villagers and their fields from tigers and other wild animals (Metz, 1864, 67-68; Francis, 1908, 339-340; Emeneau, 1971, 5, 42, 564, 744); but today, with the increase in

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population, illegal hunting and poisoning of carnivors, and the great extension in the area of tea estates, predatory tigers and other large animals have become so rare on the plateau that there seems little need to propitiate Be:da Sa:mi.

Lingayats, over the past century at least, have taken up the worship of gods other than Shiva. The non-Lingayat Badagas have also adopted new gods, mostly Sanskritic deities related to Shiva, such as his sons Gaṇapati and Subramaṇia, and also Aiyappan. A parochialization of the great Hindu tradition is evinced in the temple established at Tu:raṭṭi for a stone brought there from Benares, or the silver image of Subramaṇia brought to a Ka:ṭe:ri temple from Benares, or the 'footprint of Ra:ma' on a rock at Mañjakombe.

BAJAN AND KRISHNA WORSHIP

These styles of worship are new to the Badagas, who are Shaivites (Krishna and Ra:ma are Vaishnavite deities) (Karl, 1945, 5). The performance of *bajan* (group hymns) began amongst them some thirty years ago, and so popular has it become that nearly every village has one or more sets of *bajan* instruments and holds a weekly performance of the sacred songs. These are hymns mostly in praise of the Lord Krishna; they are played on the instruments of Tamilnad, not of the Nilgiris, and the words are Tamil, not Badagu. Many villages have built a *bajan* house specifically for these devotional evenings; it is owned by the village in common and is considered a kind of temple. Inside are lithographic prints of Krishna and other gods and perhaps an image to which *pu:ja* is performed during the course of the devotions. Once a year donations are solicited from every household in the village for support of the *bajan* singing group. Not every villager is interested in this form of worship, but its popularity is clearly increasing, especially among the youths who regard it as a modern, urban form of worship. The rising interest in *bajan* has been noted elsewhere in South India (Singer, 1959, 148–149).

TAMILIAN AND KANARESE CELEBRATIONS

Heavy immigration to the hills, together with greatly improved communications with the plains to the north and east, especially

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the frequent and cheap bus services, explain in part the proliferation of alien religious practices among Badagas during this century. Among the Wainad Gaudas there has been a comparable influence from Malabar to the west, an effect of heavy immigration from that direction.

Over the past fifty years a variety of memorial ceremonies has been instituted for the anniversaries of individual deaths; previously there had no been no such commemoration. A few corpses or their ashes have been buried at places beyond the village burial grounds, and stones have been raised to mark such spots or memorial statues erected. Here the closer relatives may perform an annual *pu:ja*; or they may do *pu:ja* at home before a photograph of the deceased. Some families invite more distant relatives to the ceremony; others do not but may distribute food to the indigent. Some have the ceremony in the daytime, others at night. Some will go straight to work after the *pu:ja*, others never work on that solemn day. In short, the scale and form of a memorial ceremony vary from family to family, but the general pattern reflects Tamilian influence.

As well as the new death ceremonies, several annual festivals have been adopted from the neighbouring plains people with varying degrees of enthusiasm and support. Over the past forty to sixty years Di:pa:vali, Ka:rttige and Ma:rgaži have come from Tamilnad into many villages (just as the Ma:ri festival did a century ago), and Dassara, long the biggest celebration in Mysore City, has also been adopted; all of them in very attenuated form.[1]

Dipa:vali, the day on which the mythical Ra:ma was crowned after his return from Ceylon, is given very little importance. A minority of Badagas wear new dresses for the occasion but otherwise do not have so much as a *pu:ja* in honour of Ra:ma or Krishna.

Kartige extends over three days in November or December, but only the first day, dedicated to Shiva, assumes any importance. All the houses display lights throughout the night, and the priest does a *pu:ja* at the village temple, attended by most villagers. On the third day, dedicated to Vishnu, very few lights remain burning.

Dassara is also celebrated on a small scale compared with the major Badaga festivals at sowing- and harvest-time. It is universally supposed to last for ten days at the end of September, but only on the evening of the ninth do Badagas hold any celebration, and this a simple *pu:ja* to images or lithographs of gods that are kept in

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the houses. On that occasion some Badagas also do *pu:ja* to bring blessings upon agricultural implements and even school books.

Ka:rttige is followed by the month of Ma:rgaźi (December–January), the most inauspicious month of the Dravidian calendar. Some Badagas have now adopted the Tamilian practice of daily *pu:ja* throughout the month. Early each morning a group of men goes along every village street singing *bajan* songs about Shiva and Vishnu. Before this daily tour the women clean the houses, put auspicious markings on the ground outside their doorways and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the *bajan* group has passed by. The many villages which have adopted this ritual conclude the unlucky month with a big communal feast.

In short, we find that there is some local variation in the form taken by the borrowed memorial ceremonies and festivals. They are not celebrated by all Badagas and those who do so show less enthusiasm for them than for native Badaga festivals. Furthermore, Badagas are much less enthusiastic about them than are the Tamilians and Kanarese now living in the Nilgiris.

GROWTH OF LINGAYAT TIES WITH MYSORE

Before the twentieth century those Badagas who were Lingayats were mostly illiterate and knew little about their religion as it was practised in the Mysore homeland. Perhaps once or twice a year a Lingayat *guru* would wander up into the Nilgiris from nearby Angala or Nanjangud, selling *lińgas* and performing family ceremonies (Harkness, 1832, 137); whatever he taught about the Lingayat faith would have been transmitted by word of mouth. In this century, in contrast, Badaga Lingayats are literate, and some are avid readers of books on Lingayat philosophy. Cheap bus transport has also enabled them to visit the Nanjangud temple and other places of pilgrimage easily and so to meet well-informed monks and priests in the towns of Mysore State.

One significant fruit of this increased contact has been a number of marriages between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeas have taken this step. However, the move for marital ties with Mysore has not found ready acceptance among most Badaga Lingayats, even though Kanarese brides usually bring a substantial dowry with them. For several decades this matter has been the subject

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of a bitter factional dispute within the Lingayat segment of the community. Many Badagas argue that as people from even the lowest castes could be converted to Virashaivism (though they seldom are) there is a danger that the girls brought from Mysore are really descendants of Untouchables converted to the faith. For upwardly mobile Badagas that is no easy pill to swallow.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF MARRIAGE AND RESIDENCE

Since 1890 small minorities in nearly all phratries have contracted marriages beyond the boundaries of the community. A few Wodeas, Kanakkas and Adikiris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore, generally from Mysore City itself. The Be:das and Kumba:ras have sought brides from the Be:da and Kumba:ra castes of the plains, too. With improved transportation and literacy such marriages have become possible; and the Lingayat cases reflect a move towards closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Gauda boy and a Badaga Christian girl, provided that the girl's ancestry traced back to a clan other than the boy's. Such unions, which would earlier have been unthinkable, now occur among the more progressive who have had a college education.

These shifting patterns of alliance have altered the phratry system but little, though changing criteria in marriage arrangements have had a profound impact. The appearance of dowry-like transactions in a society which previously expected only a type of bridewealth is the most portentous of a whole complex of changing criteria. Before the wedding the boy's family always pays the *honnu* to the girl's family; *honnu* thus has the appearance of a bride-price, but this is not a good English translation of the term. It is money to be spent on the gold ornaments that bedeck the bride when she leaves her home to join her husband and without which the marriage would not be performed. By providing the cost of the ornaments the groom's family ensures that the ceremony will proceed. If a divorce later occurs the wife must return the ornaments or their cost, together with any other gifts of clothing or jewellery that her husband may have made (Harkness, 1832, 116 117; Metz, 1864, 86 87; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 105–106; Tignous, 1911, 119). With rising gold prices the *honnu* has also increased steadily. Early in the last century it was generally '15 to

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582 583 for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

565 454 No longer are the wealthiest families members of the gentry. The latter have recently been supplanted by *parvenus* with the ability to wield more influence and political power. These *nouveaux riches*, contractors, businessmen, dealers in illicit liquor[5] and plantation owners, have wherever possible reinvested their earnings in tea or coffee estates and private bus lines. Occasionally, too, this new-found capital has been invested in Badaga-owned businesses in the towns. Another popular type of investment is in sending sons to college, which can bring prestige to a family in a short space of time. Men who obtain degrees in law or medicine are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, where they usually practise, but those who manage only a B.A. or B.Sc. find it brings some prestige but rarely a well-paying job. Nevertheless, upwardly mobile families wish their sons to take a bachelor's degree and then to settle down in their home villages and farm the land.

554 555 184 556 Among those wealthy enough to expect or to pay a substantial gift at marriage, fulfilment of their traditional roles in the society can become a problem-laden, anachronistic burden. Such men may command annual incomes a hundred times greater than the average for other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly apparent inequality the wealthy are constantly plagued by importunate villagers and distant relations, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate traditional bonds of kinship or friendship so as to grasp their share in the power and influence of the *nouveaux riches*. It is therefore not surprising that the (166) wealthiest Badagas have tended to leave their natal villages and build themselves comfortable houses in a town or in the middle of their tea estates. As the wealth of these families grows and as the possibility of their upward mobility, as modern Indian families rather than Badaga villagers, becomes a reality, their attitudes towards the traditional society and its marriage regulations change. No longer are the requirements of their old culture so (177) demanding or so relevant, for these people are now oriented towards a larger South Indian society whose aims and ideals are for them represented in the morality and the cultural paraphernalia of modern romantic Indian films.

THE NEW FACTIONS

578 By the end of the nineteenth century there may have been several

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intra-commune or intra-village factional disputes of which no record exists; small inter-family feuds were undoubtedly common; but there were only two factional divisions of Nilgiri-wide scope, one separating Hindus from Christians, and one disputing the relative superiority of Wodeas and Ha:ruvas (see above, pp. 203–204). During the twentieth century these divisions have remained and others have developed alongside them.

The Wodea/Ha:ruva dispute was intensified by another conflict in 1930 which quickly assumed Nilgiri-wide proportions (Benbow, 1930, 11, 13). It concerned the question of whether it was dignified to dance around a corpse to Kota music during a Badaga funeral (see Plate 8; Mandelbaum, 1960, 302–303). Those who supported the Ha:ruva claim to superiority wanted to continue the use of Kota music; those opposed to the Ha:ruva faction and to the use of Ha:ruva priests were equally opposed to this music. The latter, who formed the majority faction, felt that such music was an indignity to both mourners and Kotas, and that dancing was an indignity to the dead since it was an expression of joy and therefore inappropriate, un-Hindu, and 'uncivilized' in this context. Those who wanted to continue the dancing, a conservative minority, stressed that it had been an integral and time-honoured element in Badaga culture and that to discontinue it would be to dishonour and even jeopardize the deceased with an incomplete funeral. The new-found opposition to what had always been an essential part of mortuary ritual arose indirectly from contact with Tamilian culture and a consequent shift in Badaga cultural orientations, and found its leaders in the first Badaga M.L.C. and his father. Today most Badagas no longer invite Kotas to play either at funerals or at weddings and festivals, and most of their economic connections have also been severed in an attempt to increase the social distance between themselves and their more backward and polluting Kota neighbours (Emeneau, 1938, 104–105; Mandelbaum, 1960, 302–303). In dropping the practice of dancing at funerals while adopting anniversary ceremonies for the dead and such festivals as Ma:rgaźi, Ka:rttige and Di:pa:vali, many Badagas are now striving for upward mobility by taking the model and assuming the conduct of orthodox Shaivite Hindus. The younger Kotas meanwhile show no interest in playing funeral music or otherwise underpinning the old Badaga culture. They, too, have their handful of graduates and well-to-do families who are looking for a better style of life than that they used to know.

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together. People wear shoes to church if they want to, while some ministers have judiciously refrained from doing so despite the cold stone floors.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way split developed between converts coming from the Gauda, Kumba:ra and Be:da phratries. Each claimed they were socially superior to the other two categories. In this village little intermarriage now occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Be:das and ex-Kumba:ras. They normally interdine but refuse to do so during holy festivals. They have no objection however to attending the same church service together. Somewhat similar retrospective factions appeared in the past between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants in the Roman Catholic community of Badagas, and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Société des missions-étrangères, 1928, vol. VII, 573; Périé, 1933, 100).

We thus find that factional divisions are a deep-seated feature of Badaga social organization. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go off to a distant university cleavages still occur among them which are marked by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction. One is tempted to see in this an urge for a periodic reorganization of the society.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

From the start of the century, the Christian community has been recognized by Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns of interaction have been formalized. During the period 1900–1947 the Hindus, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on an economy and a labour market that ultimately was controlled by the British. As a result partly of this, partly of assigning the Christians to a separate caste status, the acts of violence towards Badaga Christians came to an end. As many Hindu Badagas now found it lucrative to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British they could not at the same time be openly hostile to the religion of the British.

After the Christians became a separate phratry (made up of twelve clans; see Diagram 7, p. 76), and the moment the German Lutheran missionaries were expelled from India in 1914. French

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Catholic priests became very active—mainly in converting Protestant Badagas—and thereby split the Christians into two culturally similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic stance not only towards the other Christian Church but also towards all Hindus.[8] By 1924 there were about a thousand Protestants and a hundred Roman Catholics (Société des missions-étrangères, 1924, vol. III, 466).

Since around 1935 an American couple, Pastor and Mrs. E.D. Willmott, succeeded in converting a few dozen Badagas—again mainly from the Protestants—to the Seventh Day Adventist Church; today some two hundred Badagas are members. Otherwise there has been little change in the balance between Catholics and Protestants, who were almost equal in number by 1947. After national Independence, although Badagas continued to become Adventists, the conversion of Hindus to the two major Christian sects virtually ceased, as did most conversion of Protestants to Roman Catholicism. Some recent conversions were engineered by a Catholic priest (a European) who was able to provide imported clothing, houses, CARE food packets and some land to new converts.

A recent count found 2093 Badaga Christians, of all denominations (Moses, 1964, 35). While there are still points of disagreement between members of the two main sects (pre-eminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Hindus and Christians in general, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing living conditions. There are now indications in casual conversation that Badagas are adapting their orientations to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity, one linking all Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for instance, are willing to admit that the Christians set them a good example—an allusion to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and 'progressive' treatment of their womenfolk that are admired in some Christians and that make them a westernizing model for other Badagas (Ranga, 1934, 5–6). The Badaga community is now usually called a caste, and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as Badagas, a group for which the state government shows particular concern and beneficence by treating as a 'Backward Class'.[9] Thus the chances of material betterment through wider employment opportunities which a century ago prompted a few Badagas to change their

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attitudes sufficiently to become Christians now prompt people to alter other orientations not allied to religious values but rather to a secular government and its new ranking of employment and educational priorities. Such a change in orientation holds out the chance of upward mobility, but in that process conversion to Christianity has become an anachronistic mechanism.

NEW PATTERNS OF COMMUNICATION

The idea of communication embraces the physical facilities of road and rail transport, postal and telegraph services, as well as the mass media of radio, film and newspaper, and the channels for communication between individuals within a local setting. We shall review briefly how these have changed in recent decades.

Transportation

Steady improvements in transport have helped the production and sale of cash crops. In the last century all goods had to be carried up or down the Nilgiri escarpment by coolies, on horseback or in bullock carts.[10] Faced with such restrictions Badagas were unable to export produce to other parts of India (Grigg, 1880, 480). Then in 1899 a railway was completed from Coimbatore to Coonoor (a remarkable engineering achievement), and by 1908 it reached to Ootacamund. Its construction involved Badaga contractors and labourers, giving some their first experience of earning regular wages. When the 1914–1918 War began there was thus a quick means of exporting vegetables to all parts of India and even beyond.

During the years between the two wars trucks became common in the district, and roads were improved to accommodate them. A few Badagas who became middlemen bought lorries to improve their business. At the same time a bus service began, and in the years since World War II the network of bus routes has become so complex that there is now scarcely any Badaga village more than five kilometres from a bus route leading to a town. Seventy routes are travelled within the district, some by several competing companies.[11]

The Impact of Towns

The availability of such a profusion of buses has helped the

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Badagas in more matters than marketing. They are now able to go to town frequently—typically once a week—and their children can attend high school or even college without losing much contact with the home. (Ootacamund has two colleges and Coonoor another, all three affiliated with Madras University.) Literacy and newspapers in Tamil have spread, too, in part because of the easy transportation system. The literacy rate is now seemingly higher in the rural Nilgiri Plateau than in Madras City: in 1963, 78% of adult Badaga males and 52% of females were literate, while in 1961 70% of Madras City males and 48% of females were literate.[12] Even old Badagas are often quite familiar with daily news stories, weather forecasts and even some political predictions (cf. Hockings, 1965 a, *passim*).

The cheap railway and bus services have made visits to the great pilgrimage centres of South India possible for thousands: the famous temples at Cape Comorin, Madurai, Palni, Tirupati and Tanjore now receive Badagas almost daily. Nor must we overlook the business trip: increasingly farmers as well as traders find it worth visiting cities when they have a harvest to sell or bulk supplies to purchase.

The modern cities and great pilgrimage centres can have two different types of psychological effect: a city shows the Badaga visitor profusions of consumer goods, among them new household devices, radios, watches, bicycles and cameras, as well as interesting foods, cloths and ornaments; the pilgrimage centre, on the other hand, stresses ties with the mythical past of South India, with the gods represented in the temples, with priestly authority and with the grand history of the temples themselves. It is an important distinction: the man who goes to a distant temple may come home with his attention focussed on the past and on separation of the self from worldly matters, whereas the man coming from a business trip may be full of a desire to buy some implement he has seen or try out a new skill or save money so that his son may attend college in the city.[13] This distinction between the conservative and the modernizing effects of travel is to some extent paralleled in the choice between mythical and modern film themes or between religious and secular magazines. Not all contact with the cities necessarily introduces people to modern ways of life; not all who patronize radio, films or periodicals are drinking at a source of non-traditional knowledge, for though the media may be modern the villager discriminates in what he derives from them.

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Film-Going Habits

In the eyes of many Badagas one of the greatest benefits of the bus system is that it permits frequent trips to cinemas in the towns. Most families now see films often, and what they see has a great impact on them. Some of the most popular films are dramatizations of Indian history or of epic stories which reinforce traditional ideas about Hinduism and the nature of the universe. But equally popular are the films about modern life, about social problems like divorce, widow remarriage, 'love' marriages and intercasts marriage; dramas which are presented against a background of affluence that is unfamiliar yet fascinating to the villager. These modern themes extol city life, non-traditional marriage practices and luxury goods such as cameras, watches, radios, mechanical toys and sports cars. The impact of these films is already clear: younger Badagas yearn for watches, motorcycles, and all the other paraphernalia they have come to associate with modern urban life.

Radio

Among the most commonly desired gadgets are transistor radios, which are appreciated partly as a source of light music and partly as a prestige symbol. Only the wealthier Badagas own radios, but every village has at least one set, either owned privately or provided by the government; many teashops also have radios. All-India Radio presents much government propaganda, especially talks directed towards improvement of farming and village co-operatives. These broadcasts—in the Tamil language—are not very much listened to, because the vast majority of village radios are constantly tuned to light music coming from the commercial Radio Ceylon. In a sample of 420 Badaga men and women in 1963, 17% said they never listened, 16% only heard music, 38% heard news as well as music, 14% listened specifically for news broadcasts and only 2% mentioned informative talks as being of interest to them.[14] The higher the incidence of *regular* listening, the higher the popularity of news broadcasts, two variables correlated no doubt with the length of time a village has been electrified.

Newspapers

My survey on the use of the media in 1963 showed that radio is

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much less effective as a source of news than is the press. It was also found that the farther away from towns respondents live, the less information they get from friends and the more from newspapers: only for items of local news are friends everywhere more effective than newspapers as channels of communication. When a Tamil newspaper reaches a village it commonly circulates and is read aloud to a much larger number of people than one copy could reach in a town. The wide circulation of papers and the presence of well-educated men even in out-of-the-way villages helps explain the unusually high levels of knowledge about the world beyond the Nilgiris that Badagas now command.

NETWORKS OF COMMUNICATION

Beside the traditional marriage and exchange networks which supplied Badagas with their basic needs, there have always been social networks through which important information has passed by word of mouth. These have been modified and amplified in the present century and have become linked to some extent with the mass media (on networks, see Hockings, 1977, *passim*).

In Hulla:da, a typical Badaga village, there are now four types of network: intra-village, inter-village, inter-tribal and a new type, village-and-town. Each of these categories can be subdivided according to the following outline.

Intra-Village Networks

There were in 1963 several different adult male *loci* for decision making and opinion formation. The most important here, as in nearly every village, were these:

(1) the traditional council, and especially the village headman;
(2) the festival committee;
(3) elders of the four indigenous lineages and of a fifth composite group of more recently settled families;
(4) three middle-aged, influential men;
(5) the local Swatantra Party organizer;
(6) the educated young men.

Two or three of these groupings may operate together in popularizing an idea or solving a problem that faces the village. In a class by

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wants to be regarded as an orthodox Shaivite would not wish to attend a funeral where Kotas play dance-music beside the corpse: not only have the (once) carrion-eating Kotas (Breeks, 1873, 42; Grigg, 1880, 205, 479; Mandelbaum, 1960, 274) become 'Untouchables' in the new terminology, but Hindu orthodoxy frowns upon the idea of dancing at a funeral. The new orientation—for a man who is now more a Hindu citizen and less a Nilgiri peasant—seems appropriate to a Badaga who finds himself competing for jobs or official favours with people from all over southern India. The relatively conservative Badagas of Kundena:du, on the other hand, are among the wealthiest villagers in the district, as nearly all of their land is given over to flourishing tea and coffee plantations. This source of profit and employment is apparently so secure that these people do not feel themselves in serious competition for positions with men from elsewhere. Their confidence in the future allows them to continue at least their ceremonial links with the local Kotas. Few tools are now made by those Kotas, however, for the great quantity of specialized metal items including machinery needed on a plantation has necessarily to be sought in towns, and furthermore these particular Kotas are preoccupied with their own tea estates. Both Kotas and Badagas here activate their traditional relationship only so far as economic expediency permits: where the required tool is too complicated for a blacksmith to make, where the market has the same item at a lower price or where one's labour can be more profitably spent on plantation work than on some customary obligation, the traditional links fall into abeyance (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240).

Similar adaptations to the expanding cash economy may be seen in other aspects of the traditional intercommunity relations. Few Todas, to mention another example, now take the trouble to make their annual rounds of Badaga villages in search of their customary dues: Todas feel this smacks of beggary, while most Badagas would find reasons for not giving anything. Badagas for their part never request the Todas to come and take their gifts and only rarely may seek out a Toda friend when a special requirement can be obtained only from him.

In a survey made in 1963 it was found that 33% of Badaga respondents no longer had any contact with or attitude towards the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas; and the younger they were, the more alienated they felt from these tribes. Nevertheless many more respondents in all age groups disliked the Kurumbas than disliked

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Todas or Kotas: the old fear of witchcraft lingers on. In the middle age-group of the sample (35 to 54 years) there was a significant correlation[15] between dislike of Kurumbas and a feeling that the world in general is a dangerous and evil place—an interesting confirmation of our earlier assertion that witchcraft accusations against Kurumbas have in the past been associated with general feelings of insecurity and stress (see above, pp. 200–201).

In general Badagas feel little compunction to maintain an association that is clearly not economically feasible. Among the indigenous peoples they are taking the lead in finding and internalizing new orientations, which help them secure a place in the national economy and society at the expense of their traditional position in Nilgiri society. While Kotas, Kurumbas and even some Todas are adopting the Badagas as a model, Badagas are following urban Tamilians and Christians in valuing the products of modern technology, seeking monetary profit, good education and a westernizing life-style they think acceptable in a modern urban context.

CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

We have already commented on changing patterns of marriage and residence and will now examine how the position of the gentry and the roles of the individual have altered with recent changes in the social structure. The central idea in this discussion is that social structure can usefully be defined as a system of linked network-clusters and that the status of a villager is determined by his position in these clusters.

The distinction between gentry[16] and non-gentry is sufficiently precise that all families can be assigned to one category or the other by those who know them. Perhaps five per cent of the community is now considered as gentry. Until the mid-nineteenth century the most prestigious family of gentry was the largest family possible. This was often achieved through polygynous marriages; in one case in the 1950s, probably a record for Badagas, a wealthy but infertile man had five wives simultaneously. In these families men were often several decades older than their wives; I know of a case where the husband was over 90 when the youngest of his three wives was 26. Polygyny, however, is no longer common.

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this mechanism, for it is illuminating. The crucial factor here is the re-evaluation process, for conversations contributing to it take place separately for the different phratries and factions and for males and females. Children furthermore are intellectually equipped for only a very peripheral part in adult discussion. Over a period of years rather different adaptations to living conditions therefore tend to be worked out by each phratry or faction, by men and by women, by the successive generations This accounts for the most obvious subcultural variations within the community; and because children naturally grow into adults and replace the older generation in most roles, an on-going process of changing cultural adaptations is in evidence even though the model for thinking about social relations has remained remarkably stable for some generations.

NOTES

1. Benbow, 1930, 39–42. Other Tamilian festivals now celebrated by some Badagas are Pongal, Ma:ri Habba, Rangana:tan car festival, and the birthdays of various gods; Stokes, 1882, 173.
2. B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 70. It did range as high as Rs. 150 or 200; see Metz, 1864, 99, and Grigg, 1880, 222.
3. But 'varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 . . .'; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 763; compare Tignous, 1911, 119, and Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 250.
4. Dowry may once have been a Badaga custom; Harkness, 1832, 41–42; Metz, 1864, 87. Even today Badagas should give their daughters upon marriage a present *(ado:li)* of at least one milking buffalo, one cow and one trained ploughing ox. If she is later divorced the gift is returned to her father.
5. The official claims that 'The vigilant working of the Prohibition department has made Prohibition a success in this district,' is farcical and is belied by lawcourt statistics; Madras, 1965, 23. It has merely provided a further concern for a burgeoning bureaucracy and another cottage industry for the landless. Most villages had at least one still in full-time production during the 1960s.
6. The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins and looked upon them as incursors from the north; yet 'In Madras the civil service and the professions were dominated almost completely by Brahmins . . .'; Béteille, 1969, 35, also 50–52, 164–168, 173–179.
7. Another village had three headmen recently when its anti-music faction divided into two groups over another matter; these two and the music faction each had a headman.
8. Tignous, 1911, 156; Illustrated Catholic Missions, 1916, vol. II, 8; Périé, 1933, *passim*. There had been some earlier Catholic conversions, the first in 1873 when Father J.M.J. Pottier had baptised a dying Badaga man in a village near Wellington. During the period 1892–1916 about a dozen families had been baptised by Fathers E.J.B. Foubert, M.-L. Robin, F.-F. Deniau, and J.-T. Gudin. Thereafter the pace of conversion increased.

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9. See above, pp. 166, 168. On the designation of Badagas as a caste, see Hockings, 1968 b, *passim*.

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10. Ward, 1821, lxv; see above, p. 142. Until 1878 the mails were carried by teams of runners; Grigg, 1880, 408.

494

11. The district is unusually well endowed in this respect, for it is only the size of Warwickshire or Luxemburg and slightly smaller than Rhode Island State. From Ootacamund some of the major cities of South India are also served: Madurai, Salem, Mysore, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Palghat and Calicut (Kozhikode).

212

12. India, 1962, 133; Moses, 1964, 33, found 73% of Badaga males and 50% of females literate ($N = 200$). My sample in 1963 was 420.

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13. There are a few who combine the business trip with a pilgrimage, but this is not usual.

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14. This purposive sample was drawn from 656 interviews in the district.

177

15. $Chi^2 = 5.18$, $P < 0.03$. This middle-aged group had grown up during the slump which spanned the 1930s and which is reflected in the low food-grain prices of those years; see Madras, 1965, 37.

207 125

16. *manetana*, literally 'house-stage' or 'house-level'; compare Kannada *manetana*, translated as 'household,' 'race, family' by Kittel, 1894, 1207, the connotation being a family of worthy people.

128

17. Grigg, 1880, 366. These were village magistrates and clerks; see above, p. 172.

554

18. These social distinctions have over a century of history. They are crystallized in various proverbs as well as being universally recognized normative concepts. One proverb, for example, runs: 'Though it is hot water it will extinguish fire.' This refers to group loyalties: though we may have a friendship with a man of another lineage, village, faction, phratry or community, we will take the side of our own group against his when the need arises. Other proverbs relate to particular social distinctions, e.g., between one village and another:

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'Even if he is headman of his own village, he is not superior to the son of the widow of the last house in another village.'

538 554

'If you are not cunning, do not go to Jakkatala; if you are poor, do not go to Ke:ti.'

E.g., between phratries.

'If a crow makes a dropping on you it is a bad sign; if a Ha:ruva shouts at you it is a bad sign.'

E.g., between affines and agnates:

'If brothers curse each other, one can still build his house on his brother's threshold; if in-laws curse, leave and run away.'

'Though she is our sister, is her husband ours?' (In a later work I plan to analyse some 1300 Badaga proverbs).

[p. 238 is blank]

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11

Summary and Conclusion

MS The Badagas migrated to the Nilgiris from southern Mysore in small bands between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Some came out of fear of the Moslems, some because of famine and some were brought to the plateau by the chieftains of Ummattu:r. They cleared land, scattered their hamlets across the rolling hills and took to a mixed farming economy that was augmented by some hunting and swidden cultivation. What they needed but did not themselves produce was either obtained from the neighbouring Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Chettis or was bought in market towns near the foot of the Nilgiris, usually by bartering homegrown millets.

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century coinage hardly circulated on the plateau; for the most part it only changed hands during family ceremonies. The levying of tribute under the rule of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan, and the subsequent demand for land revenue at the British outpost of Dannaika Ko:ṭe, put some pressure on Badaga farmers to sell more in the lowland markets in order to get sufficient coinage to pay their assessments. At about this time, if not before, some differentiation based on wealth was apparent within the community: certain men, descended from the village founders, became more affluent and were treated as gentry, while at the other extreme were people so poverty-stricken that they had to contract their children into servitude with well-to-do families.

[111] Though the British had acquired the Nilgiri Plateau by the

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Treaty of Seringapatam in 1799, they were slow to appreciate their prize. It was only after twenty years and several preliminary explorations that a British official, John Sullivan, had serious thoughts of settling on the plateau. In this he was prompted by his own romantic inclinations after hearing the reports of others and making a tour of the area himself; but he was also invited to come there by the Badagas, as they wanted someone to survey their lands and determine if they were being assessed for too much revenue.[1]

As soon as Sullivan had taken up residence in what later became Kotagiri he began experimenting with several European crops, also giving seeds to some interested Badagas. Even after his arrival, while the new township of Ootacamund was becoming established, the British continued for a decade to collect the land revenue in the plains. They had adopted a policy of fixing grain prices, which gave some encouragement to the Badagas who sold their grain surplus in the lowland towns; and this indirectly fostered the practice of storing credit gained there by selling the food-grains for coinage.

After 1823 roads were developed and a market established at Ootacamund. Thereafter the Badaga economy became monetized, with Ootacamund as the new centre for their trade. By 1840 they were making most of their bazaar purchases with coinage.

The first estimate of the Badaga population (in 1812) was only 2207, and by 1821—perhaps a better census—it had reached 3778. The British population increased rapidly too, offering Badagas who lived near the towns an opportunity to labour for a cash wage or to grow European vegetables for the market that was suddenly on their doorstep. While their tradition of intensive farming in small fields was well suited to the new crops, and the Nilgiri climate by chance blessed their endeavours, learning to compete in a labour market was another matter: it was only because some feared the government might otherwise increase the land tax out of revenge that Badagas let themselves be persuaded to work for Europeans.

The early British influences on Badaga culture were thus the introduction of a local market, a cash economy and a demand for labour and vegetables. But this was enough to trigger a rise in the fortunes of the community and also to prompt a remarkable increase in the size of the Badaga population. Another significant British novelty was education. Within a year of Sullivan's arrival a

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175 177 school had been opened in De:na:ḍu; yet it was only after 1856 that Badagas perceived some value in schooling. This value lay in Tamil literacy, which was slowly becoming the one sure passport to such coveted official positions as *karnam* and *manegar*.

177 178 During the 1860s and 1870s legislation put an end to shifting cultivation, cutting timber in the jungle and paying a light tax on undemarcated land holdings. No longer was there land available for everyone to clear and farm: those who could not pay the government land-tax became tenant small-holders, landless labourers or plantation workers. These successive blows to the customary farming practice, following hard upon the first Christian conversion (1858), fostered a half-century of mistrust of Europeans which the numerous epidemics, droughts, conversions, temple rebuildings and surveys of field ownership did nothing to dispel. Over this period land erosion became a serious problem, fields were inadequately manured and rarely terraced, much Badaga land was sold to European planters, and indebtedness became widespread. Only some villages near the towns achieved a measure of prosperity. Jakkatala, a prime case, sold much of its land to the government for the Wellington Barracks and then profitted further from contracts for gangs of labourers to build the barracks and some other public structures. By the turn of the century a few families had become very wealthy as contractors, some of them in building the railway to Ootacamund.

178 311 [161] At the start of the twentieth century the Badaga population had climbed to 34,000 (having increased fifteen-fold in the preceding century), and the density of the rural labour force had also increased appreciably through continued immigration. Alongside this growth Grigg (1880, 321) had observed: '. . . each year has the area of cultivation and permanent occupation been extending with the growth in numbers of the hill-tribes [Badagas], the increase of wealth among them, and the great extension of plantations.'[2]

178 241 Although tea, coffee and potato had been grown in the district for over half a century, it was only with the onset of World War I and the completion of the Nilgiri railway that Badagas shifted the emphasis in their farming from millets to potato and in the 1920s to tea as well. This made many of them cash-crop farmers, since they did not eat much potato and had to buy their food-grains in the bazaar. Their initial interest in tea cultivation was merely as a 'method of increasing the value of land before selling it to European planters.

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By now the Badaga Christians were viewed as a separate caste, and the old antagonism over Christian conversion had given place to a new realism which accepted the British, tolerated their religion and sought to collaborate with them in the realms of commerce and administration. The periodic massacres of Kurumbas had also come to an end.

Land fragmentation and indebtedness continued to be problems for the twentieth-century farmer, but new techniques of commercial cultivation raised the per capita income appreciably. Chemical fertilizers and insecticides were now used, along with good seed and reputable tea cuttings. Money-lenders, middlemen and truckers all appeared on the scene to answer local needs. Most of the hillsides were terraced to permit efficient farming, and the emergence of co-operative societies from 1911 helped with this as well as with the more general problem of rural credit.

These new directions in the farm economy were fully in evidence by 1930, at which time most Badagas broke off their time-honoured exchange relationship with the Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas and began to seek the artifacts these tribesmen had made in town markets instead. The ostensible reasons for this break are several. Badagas usually mention the increasing cost of having a Kota band at their ceremonies; while Kotas mention an insulting article in a national newspaper of 1928, 'The Hindu', which implied that Kotas were descended from the unions of Todas with Badagas.[3] A glance at the population graph in Appendix 2, however, will make it clear that the over-riding reason for the break must have been the disproportionately large number of Badagas. By 1931 there were 42,500 of them, too many to be adequately supplied in the customary way by a few hundred Todas and Kotas.

The Second World War brought a further surge in the demand for potatoes to feed the European troops stationed throughout south and southeast Asia; at the same time government financing helped the growers, with the result that this new capital and the high prices potatoes were fetching greatly alleviated the former indebtedness of Badagas. After 1957 potato production fell sharply with a series of disease-ridden crops, and tea, first planted by Badagas some thirty years before, now became a popular cash-crop too. By 1970 cabbage had also become an important crop.

Modern Badagas enjoy a high standard of living, occupy comfortable tiled houses, send their sons to college, make frequent

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trips to various South Indian cities, see numerous films and delight in mechanical devices. The minority who now live in the Nilgiri towns, among them numerous Christians, have taken on a variety of new urban jobs and are found in most of the professions. Few were involved in the Independence movement, fewer are under the influence of Gandhi's philosophy and fewer still understand or care for Marxism. The Communist vote is negligible, and the idea of revolutionary communism unappealing. For Badagas change means securing profit in a capitalist economy, adopting a westernized style of individualism and thus shifting away from ascribed status towards that which is achieved.

This transformation has come about while physical communications have been improving steadily. All the more populous villages are linked with the towns by regular bus services. Since the beginning of the century there has been a railway to the plains. Many of the middlemen who sell fertilizer or buy potatoes have their own trucks; some large-scale tea planters have cars or jeeps. Radios are widely accessible now that the villages are electrified; yet radio is mainly a channel for light music and is not as important as the 'social' films in introducing new, primarily urban, values and wants to the Badagas. Newspapers have a broad circulation in the villages and are much more effective than radios in transmitting news. Today, therefore, every Badaga village has easy access to information about the world beyond the Nilgiris, through seeing films, reading the papers or talking with friends and relatives who work in the towns.

SOME CONCLUSIONS ON MODERNIZATION

There is a multi-causal type of linkage in socio-cultural changes like those documented in this study: one single factor does not by itself cause a new situation, but several discernible factors combine to cause variant patterns of a new situation. We may state this process in another way. When a community moves from subsistence cultivation to rational participation (i.e., maximization of gains) in a cash economy, certain changes come about in the culture and the social organization. These are conditioned by a combination of local ecological factors, outside governmental activity, the availability of certain goods, services and entrepreneurial personnel, adequate flow of information, and the play of

In the course of the year almost every village celebrates a dozen or so festivals, the most important of which are concerned with the agricultural cycle: *dodda habba*, the Great Festival, which marks the beginning of the agricultural year in November, and *de:va habba*, the God Festival, which celebrates the harvest in July. Another festival, called *Ma:ri habba*, intended to keep smallpox away, is celebrated in a few villages by fire-walking, when selected men walk unscathed across glowing embers. There are many other lesser ceremonies marking certain transitions in the lives of members of the community. For Badagas the major events of life are the naming of a child, its first haircut, the first milking of a cow, marriage, and death. On rare occasions some villages held a huge memorial ceremony in honour of a whole generation of the dead when its last member had passed away, but the ceremony was last performed in 1936. Yet many customs and celebrations of the Badagas are still observed today, in spite of dramatic changes which have affected other parts of their lives.

They are, for example, still led by a paramount chief whose position is hereditary and who always belongs to the village of Tu:ne:ri. (The latest chief was installed in 1977.) The political power devolves from this paramount chief to the headman of each village. In between them there are many local and regional headmen: several neighbouring villages make up a commune and, taking the name of the leading village, come under the authority of that village's headman. Above these there are also four regional chiefs who each control the villages and communes within their quarter of the Nilgiris.

Each headman has his own traditional council. A commune headman has the local village headmen in his council; a regional headman has the commune chiefs in his; and the paramount chief's council (which rarely meets) is composed of all the Badaga headmen. The judicial authority of all of these councils has been much diminished by the gradual imposition of Indian law and lawcourts. The traditional legal procedure for any dispute begins at the village level and then ascends through the various councils until finally an appeal may be considered by the paramount chief. In the past, headmen could impose severe punishments which ranged from ostracism to hanging, but today all criminal offences come under the authority of lawcourts, and village headmen and councils are left to deal only with minor disputes and ceremonial duties.

The Badagas are divided socially into a number of hierarchical

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of a sociologist, is that—unlike most communities on the subcontinent—the Badagas can be categorized neither as tribe nor as caste. To be precise, they are refugees drawn from several castes in southern Mysore centuries ago, who then consolidated themselves into a community on the Nilgiri Massif and to some extent may have then emulated the social organization of the neighbouring Toda tribe (Hockings 1979a).

The very name *Badaga* means "northerner" in their language, and was clearly applied to them only after they had fled from the plains immediately to the north of the Nilgiris. The reason for this flight is made quite clear in their legends: in A.D. 1565 the Vijayanagar Empire was destroyed by Muslims invading from the north. The ancestral Badagas, fearing for the safety of their womenfolk, fled to the Nilgiris and adopted a tribal type of dress for both sexes. In 1603 a certain Father Finicio, the first European visitor, encountered them on this plateau. He described them (in Portuguese) as as Badegas, and gave the impression that they then numbered 500 to 1,000 people and inhabited no more than three villages (Finicio 1603). Already they had quite a varied mixed-farming economy. The most remarkable accomplishment of the Badagas has been the consummate success with which the community has adapted to and multiplied in surroundings that were initially wild and strange for them, and which lay at an elevation 3,000 to 5,000 feet higher than did their ancestral villages on the Mysore Plain. Their agricultural success has been partly due to their adoption of foreign techniques. Typically European crops are commonly grown today on terraces made with the help of machines. The fields are nourished with artificial fertilizers and the harvest is transported in lorries. These improved techniques have led to a better standard of living and a tendency for fathers to provide their sons with the education that they missed themselves. In the four main towns of the Massif there is now a sizeable Badaga middle class, and many of the men are doctors, lawyers, teachers, or government officials. Although still largely a rural people, speaking a distinct but unwritten Dravidian language, Badagas now have an unusually high rate of literacy in both Tamil and English.

Previous Studies

1.3. It is possible to show in considerable detail how the Badaga

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(2) The lower plateau, ranging from about 5,000 to a peak at 8,640 feet, where over 350 Badaga hamlets are located. (3) The escarpments and lower slopes, primarily the home of the Kurumba and Iruḷa tribes, who are swidden cultivators still practising some hunting and gathering, and important to Badagas for their sorcery. (4) The more westerly Waina:ḍ Plateau, averaging about 3,000 feet in elevation, which is the territory of Kurumbas, Paṇiyas, Maunta:-dan and Waina:ḍ Chettis, and of eight hamlets of Badagas, here known as Waina:ḍ Gaudas. Irrigated rice, and tea and coffee, are the most important crops there today.

Since the culture of the Waina:ḍ Gaudas has been dealt with elsewhere (Ranga 1934; Hockings 1979a), and in any case is more like a variant subculture of the Maunta:dan Chettis than like that of the Nilgiri Badagas, I will pay no attention to them in the present study, but confine myself to the Badagas of the Nilgiri Massif.

The environs of these Nilgiri Badagas have been discussed in some detail in a paper on Badaga placenames and cultural ecology (Hockings 1974), and have been accurately described in the following account of the lower and upper plateau:

> The plateau is a true tableland, its average height being very uniform. But there is not a square mile of level ground in the whole of it, its surface being broken by endless undulations which in places swell into considerable and distinct ranges. It rises most abruptly from the plains below it; and on the west. . .its sides are often sheer, bare walls, hundreds of feet in height and too steep even for trees to obtain a footing on them. Elsewhere dense forest covers almost the whole of its slopes.
>
> It is first of all divided east and west into two fairly equal but dissimilar parts by a range of heights running north and south of which Dodabetta ('big mountain') is the tallest. . . .
>
> East and south of the Dodabetta range. . . the plateau. . .is extensively cultivated by the immigrant tribe known as the Badagas. This does not improve its appearance; the great forests have mostly been felled and their place taken by the poorest low scrub or by fields of miserable cereals surrounding the squat red-tiled houses of numerous hamlets; the country is deeply scoured by every shower of rain until the infertile red and yellow sub-soil clays are laid bare; and, owing to the Badagas' former custom of

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goats recently, they did so during the seventeenth century and even later (Finicio 1603: 723; Birch 1838:103).

1.7. After contact with the British a new adjustment with their changed environment was achieved by the Badagas, and their population was able to increase rapidly for several decades while there was still a very low density of population. One relevant factor, I would hypothesize, was that a change in their drinking habits followed the arrival of the British (from 1819 onward), and that this was associated with greater resistance to bacteria in the drinking water. The main drinks of the community at the time were fresh milk and stream water: "...at midday, or towards evening, parties of them are often to be seen seated on the bank of some brook or rill, partaking of their simple fare, which generally consists of barley or other meal, mixed up with some of the pure element that is gurgling past them, a little salt, and a little chilly" (Harkness 1832: 111; so also Young 1827: 42, Birch 1838:103, and Dulles 1835: 465-66). Two British officials, one a surgeon, make it clear that until the 1830s the Badagas had no alcohol, and "drunkenness is unknown here" (Macpherson 1820: lix; Ainslie 1834: 36). But the surgeon had already in 1829 recorded that he had "tasted very tolerable specimens of beer which had been brewed on these hills from malt of Native Manufacture" (Price 1908: 218). Within another two decades a staggering change had come about:

> Lord Tweeddale...in 1847,...stated that he had never anywhere seen such widespread and continuous drunkenness amongst low-class natives as prevailed there [the Nilgiri town of Ootacamund], not only in the case of those resident, but also in that of peons, followers, and servants, brought up from Madras and other places. The drink at this time available was...arrack, which ...was not very expensive. (Price 1908: 51)

This drunkenness was more of an urban than a rural phenomenon, although some Badagas did go to the town to indulge themselves. Meanwhile, at the same time that beer and arrack were becoming available, so were tea and coffee. These hot drinks were generally preferred by the Badagas to stream water, because of the cool climate, even though they had a religious tabu against heating milk (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 247). In this latter regard, I was told that if one keeps milk in a warm place it will "boil up" of its own accord

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also contributed to a reduction in the spread of viruses, particularly as the cattle are generally kept away from these courtyards fronting the houses.

The ecological significance of these various beliefs and practices is that as the Nilgiri population increased in the nineteenth century and some village streams began to be polluted by this new pressure, the Badagas managed to avoid some contamination by switching from drinking stream water and fresh milk to tea, coffee and sometimes alcohol, all of which would be relatively free of bacterial organisms. The new balance with the environment that this change brought about was certainly one factor in the remarkable increase in the Badaga population ever since the advent of the British (Diagram 1).

At the same time that this change in drinking habits was occurring their eating habits were undergoing an equally radical transformation. In part this was due to the several dozen types of fruit, grain and vegetable introduced from Europe by British settlers and adopted by most Badagas (2.1, Table 2; Hockings 1973: 867). The variety of their diet was thus greatly improved. Also the earlier habit of eating a midday meal, often in open air (Harkness 1832: 111), tended to cease as more and more Badaga adults began working for an hourly or daily wage on the plantations and construction projects initiated by the British, and as increasing numbers of children spent the day in school. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it thus became usual for Badagas to consume only two meals a day, generally in their own homes, one at sunrise and the other in the evening. The importance of this practice from a hygienic viewpoint was that, because flies are normally active only during daytime, "eating at night or in the early morning may protect food from fly-borne contamination" (Alland 1970: 59). Any change of diet or of custom that tended to reduce the human intake of bacterial organisms was reflected in the greatly increased life expectancy during the past century and a half.

1.8. By the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries successful exploration of the botanical realm and this steadily increasing Badaga population had, through a process of interaction and by individual experiments, observations of animal browsing, or other acts of discovery about which we can know nothing, developed the third phase in their medical history — the full-fledged therapeutic system described in this book. As an increasingly heavy work-load was

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As an increasingly heavy work-load was placed on the therapists more women entered the craft; and more reliance was placed on Western medicine too. Today the scientific medicine of the public health department, and of government and mission hospitals, is making serious assaults on the faith that Badagas formerly had in their own herbal therapy, and is helping the population to expand at what must be considered an alarming rate (Diagram 1). The traditional therapy was adaptive, indeed crucial, for ancient Badagas trying to gain a foothold in a strange environ-

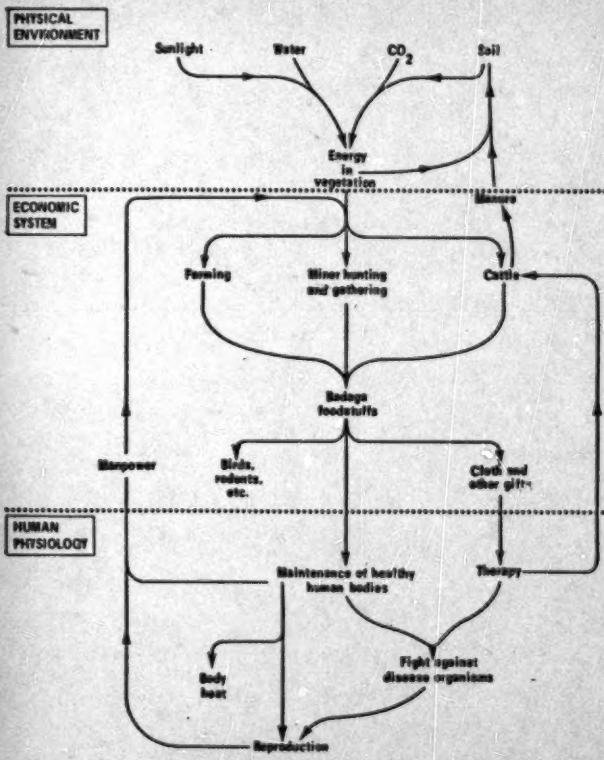

Diagram 2 : A simple model for energy flow in the Badaga ecological system

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ment. Today that environment has changed so much socially, economically and intellectually that the old therapeutic system is becoming an anachronism. This change is not simply attributable to the fact that scientific medicine is viewed as "better" in any objective sense. The number of Badagas who die either in hospitals or after being brought home (often prematurely) from them is sufficient to bolster a suspicion to the contrary. Nonetheless scientific medicine has now become the medicine of the urban middle classes in the Nilgiris, many of whom are professionals and are taken as a positive reference group by the rest of the community in these matters. The most progressive of Badagas are already finding their place in the broader urban culture of modern South India; and in this context reliance on an antiquated, indigenous therapeutic system is seen by increasing numbers as an embarrassing reminder of the primitive past. Despite the greater cost that may be involved, many Badagas now patronize Badaga doctors with degrees in scientific medicine. Since these doctors are pillars of the local urban middle class, support of them may be seen as evidence of class emulation on the part of Badaga peasants.

1.9. The simple model shown in Diagram 2 indicates some major ecological relationships in Badaga culture, the basic flow of energy, and the role of therapy in helping maintain this system.

The etic reality of these energy relationships is indisputable: only a brief survey of the ethnographic descriptions of the Badagas would demonstrate this. Yet the Badagas' own point of view on the business of living colours these relationships with the particular characteristics of a particular culture, and the recording of that emic viewpoint is essential for a fuller understanding of the culture and its therapeutics. I find myself in agreement with Frake that one

> must discover those features of objects and events which they regard as significant for defining concepts, formulating propositions, and making decisions. This conception of an ethnography requires that the units by which the data of observation are segmented, ordered, and interrelated be delimited and defined according to contrasts inherent in the data themselves and not according to a priori notions of pertinent descriptive categories. (Frake 1962 : 54)

In line with this valuable prescription, I will present in this study an

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emic description of Badaga therapeutics insofar as the data permit, stepping outside that position to present etic observations only in the next chapter and the final two chapters where death and the organization of therapy are considered. The emic account is still quite partial, since it relies only on information from the therapists and other specialists, and does not show what the patients and their relatives think of illness episodes.

The Formulation and Spread of Medical Knowledge

1.10. Those familiar with the Ayurvedic and Sidda medical systems in India will doubtless wonder to what extent Badaga medicine is either derived from them or analogous to them. This is a question of some importance, yet the evidence does not support a connection. Of over 120 species which Badagas use therapeutically, only 49 are mentioned in the generally exhaustive, four-volume compendium, *Indian Medical Plants* (Kirtikar, Basu *et al.*, 1933). An examination of the entries for those 49 species reveals that in almost every instance they are used for quite different types of therapy in Ayurveda than I have found they are in Badaga medicine. It must be realized that each of the 49 species is said to be useful in perhaps a dozen or so Ayurvedic cures; yet only six of these species had a role in *any* comparable Badaga treatment: namely for cough, melanoma, eczema, piles, ulcers, and the improvement of a child's appetite. Some species (e.g. black pepper) are "hot" in the Ayurvedic system but cooling in the Badaga one, or heating in the one (e.g. fenugreek) but neutral in the other (2.1, Table 2). The opium poppy is constipating in Ayurvedic medicine (Kirtikar, Basu *et al.*, 1933: I, 126), but *relieves* constipation in Badaga practice (6.55). We may also note that none of the Badagas' ailments or cures bears a Sanskrit name.

The Badagas do not think of Ayurvedic medicine as their own, nor do they view it as particularly effective. In 1963 I interviewed a random sample of 301 Badaga males and 119 Badaga females (all adult) from a wide range of villages. Table 1 shows their responses to the question, "Do you think that Ayurvedic doctors can cure all diseases?"

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Table 1. Attitudes Towards Ayurvedic Medicine

	Males	*Females*
"can cure any disease"	18.6%	14.3%
"occasionally may succeed"	25.2%	21.0%
"no: Western medicine is better"	2.7%	5.0%
unascertainable answers	53.5%	59.6%
	(*N* = 301)	(*N* = 119)

What these figures show is that only about a third of the respondents reported any faith in Ayurvedic medicine, and men expressed somewhat more confidence in it than women. On this question we do find a remarkably high level of non-response: people saying "I don't know" or not understanding the question. Their problem was that they were not all familiar with the sanskritic term *Ayurveda*. (The very low level of confidence in Western medicine is also notable.) In the light of these facts let us therefore proceed to examine how the Nilgiri medicaments are used, and how medical knowledge has been formulated by Badagas, without making any further reference to Ayurveda, since it is clearly a foreign system to them.

1.11. If recognized ailment X can be treated by herbs A and B, and recognized ailment Y is treated by herbs A, B and C, the different combination of herbs underlines that X is conceptually a separate ailment from Y. But what if A is the only pharmacologically active ingredient in either medicine? If it in fact has the same effect on both maladies, possibly they are one and the same from a scientific viewpoint: thus X = Y. If such equivalences in Badaga therapeutics could be identified, they would perhaps lead to a somewhat briefer roster of treatment. Why the present larger roster?

I think there are two reasons. One is that having a wider range of diagnoses and cures fosters the impression that therapists are in fuller control of illness, a topic to which we must return later (10.21). All therapy, we will suggest, incorporates an element of ritual and functions to reduce anxiety by it. If this is granted, then it follows that the more illnesses can be identified, the greater are the opportunities for reducing anxiety and fear in patients; whereas a minimal number of treatments could raise some doubts about whether therapy was worthwhile in a particular case.

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261 146 by Badaga infants. One would certainly expect pregnant women and plantation labourers to be the people suffering most from mineral deficiencies in their diet. One clay sample from Ootacamund, of the kind that Badagas eat, had the following chemical components (Hooper and Mann 1906: 262): (134) (135)

Loss on ignition— (including nitrogen)	9.63% 0.23%
Silica	71.66%
Feric oxide	2.71%
Alumina	4.94%
Lime	5.78%
Magnesia	1.54%
Potash	0.88%
Soda	1.01%
Sulphuric acid	0.06%
Phosphoric anhydride	1.79%

261 *Gopi* mud was a clay that used to be mixed with water and left to stand in the house. Later the water developed a salty taste and would be used in cooking (Belli Gowder 1923-41: 2).

Liquor

273 (177) 2.5. There is no doubt that the British introduced the Badagas to the demon drink, for their earliest reports on the community make it clear that "Liquors of an intoxicating quality are never distilled on the hills nor drunk by any of the castes" (Macpherson 1820: lix; cf. Ainslie 1834: 36). Yet by 1829 local Englishmen had brewed beer "from malt of Native Manufacture" (Price 1908: 218). By 1847, as we have already mentioned, Ootacamund had become a centre of "widespread and continuous drunkenness amongst low-class natives" (Price 1908: 51). For nearly a century following that date there are occasional complaints in the literature about the drunkenness of Badagas. Even today it is usually possible to see one or two drunken men in any village in the later afternoon, particularly on festival days. (175)

The local liquor industry has fluctuated with repeated attempts to enforce prohibition, both before and after Independence. At the present time prohibition is once again the law. The women rarely

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 33]

Pl. 8

[following p. 248-HJ]

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1821: lxxii; Shortt 1868: 60; Rhiem 1900: 508-09; Francis 1908: 130; Thurston 1909: 81; Tignous 1911: 116; Benbow 1930: 13-15; Verghese 1963: 419).

In the nineteen-thirties a small number, who had been to high school or who had cultural contacts with Tamilian women from the plains of Madras, started giving up this traditional white dress for multi-coloured *sa:ris*. Today only the older Badaga women can be seen in traditional dress. In the nineteen-forties high school girls began wearing jackets. Today at the English-language private schools in the Nilgiris one occasionally meets Badaga girls in full English school uniform, including a short skirt; and the word "miniskirt" has actually passed into the Badaga language, even though the article has never been seen in their villages. Since 1950 blouses covering the upper arms and shoulders have become popular. Another innovation is underwear: since the nineteen-fifties all young women have worn brassieres, and underpants are worn by all schoolgirls.

2.16. The basic dress of the men is a loincloth (*muṇḍu*) worn over a breechclout that is kept in place by a string around the waist; the doubled-over loincloth reaches to the ankle, but is commonly pulled up to the knees. A cloak or blanket is wrapped around the upper part of the body, and a turban of cotton or silk sits loosely around the head. Traditionally no footwear was worn, for fear of offending the diety they walked upon; but in the nineteenth century men began wearing leather boots and sandals which had been purchased locally. Men's shoes came into use early in the present century. A distinctive pair of gold earrings, perhaps a silver finger-ring, and an umbrella or walking-stick complete the men's apparel. The elaborately embroidered cloak (*pugaru si:le* in Baḍagu) of the Todas is also favoured by older men, and is virtually a mark of office for village headmen. At the turn of this century men started wearing European-style jackets and trousers; but before that they had adopted shirts, which hang outside the loincloth; Kashmir shawls in red, orange, green or blue wool have also been popular with the men since the 1920s. "Pork-pie" caps, coloured nightcaps, and "Gandhi" caps have likewise been fashionable alternatives to the turban for some time. By mid-century the pubic cloth was giving way to cotton shorts or Western-style underpants, except among older men. (Ward 1821: lxxii; Shortt 1868: 60; Grigg 1880: 220: Francis 1908; 130; Thurston 1909: 81; Tignous 1911: 116; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 247.)

2.17. This account of Badaga appearance will not be complete

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without some further notes on body ornaments. Men as well as women usually wear gold earrings, which are still made from melted gold sovereigns. Women also have gold nose-rings, always worn in the left nostril. Gold, silver or brass armlets may be worn by women just above the right elbow. Numerous silver, gold or glass bangles will be on the wrists; men too wore a silver bangle and silver or copper toe-rings until 50 years ago. Silver or steel rings are worn on the fingers of both sexes (Thurston 1909: 81-82). Necklaces of great variety are also favoured by girls. In general, where gold ornaments are too costly women wear them in filagree silver, brass, copper, iron or steel instead (Grigg 1880: 220). Badagas believe that if a person wears gold, the length of his lifetime will be greater. One might think that wearing gold invited theft; but in fact it seems that this did not often occur amongst the Badagas. Throughout the nineteenth century men, when travelling from village to village, carried a walking-staff with a small axe-head in lieu of the handle, for protection. When however they were to walk to the plains on a trading expedition (prior to 1825) they would first divest themselves of all ornaments, including even their silver waist-bands and any richly made cloak. They were clearly very afraid of brigands, even though they travelled in a group of up to 100 men.

This still does not complete the list of ornaments, however. Priests wear a silver ring during each festival. Some of the headmen wear gold or silver "rings of office" on their fingers, given to their ancestors by East India Company officials or even earlier chieftains of Mysore. The headman of Ke:ti wears one called *sinaganige*, which his ancestor seems to have taken from another Badaga headman after a hand-to-hand fight. It is now worshipped in his home every Monday. Such rings can always be given as security against a fine, and are conventionally worth 1,000 rupees in gold coins. Women who go barefoot — still the great majority today — wear silver rings on three or four toes of each foot. (In Southern India slippers are associated mainly with Muslim women and Hindu dancing girls.)

Until about 1930, it was the custom for men to carry non-collapsible umbrellas made of palm leaves on a cane frame. (Such umbrellas can still be seen in Kerala occasionally.) Since the Nilgiri Plateau is very wet for a part of the year (roughly 20 ins. in May-July, and another 30 ins. the rest of the year), these or their more recent Western equivalents often substitute for a walking stick. Until very recently it was thought disrespectful to the men for women to carry

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some of the higher status phratries, in the last century often managed to talk, kiss or even have coitus with men of superior phratries. If a Toreya woman had no child, it is said her husband would not be greatly upset to find she was having an affair with a man of higher status, for as that man was "purer" any child that he sired would also be good and pure. It is noteworthy that Wodeya men, who belonged to the highest of all phratries, did not usually have casual relationships with non-Wodeya women (cf. 3.1).

It is very shameful for a higher-status Gauda man to be discovered having relations with a Toreya girl. This is because the Gaudas, the majority group among Badagas — regardless of their age and generation level, and although they have no kin ties with Toreyas — call all Toreyas of whatever generation "son" or "daughter." In turn the Toreyas address all Gaudas and higher Badaga phratry members as "grandfather" or "grandmother." Such paternalism acts as a psychological restraint, one Badaga suggested. Similarly Toreya men do not have coitus with Gauda women because they are scared of getting caught at it, and also because calling a Gauda girl "grandmother" is really a deterrent, my informants say. It is noteworthy that if an illicit relationship is developing between a Gauda boy and a Toreya girl they do not address each other by these fictive kin terms but by more endearing terms, which if overheard warn others that something unusual is a foot.

(*d*) Less frequently higher-status youths have affairs with girls belonging to another phratry, but one superior in status to the Toreyas.

(*e*) There has been no identifiable class or community of Badaga prostitutes, although in a very few instances women have adopted this profession, usually as an escape from their unattractive husbands. In general though the sexual partners of Badaga men would be described as lovers and mistresses. Beyond the limits of the community altogether some men do also find full-time prostitutes. There is a Badagu term (*ha:tira giti*) for a sexually loose woman: although she has extra-marital relations she tries to be secretive about them. This contrasts with *su:ve*, a woman who, everyone knows, is keeping a man just for sexual satisfaction or to get some favour from him.

A kind of borderline case between the mistress and the prostitute (does English have a word for this?) is constituted by girls of the neighbouring Toda and Kota tribes, many of whom are willing to have intercourse with Badaga men, some for the novelty of the

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by a Kurumba who used magic to get her. How else could he have succeeded?

Nowadays the patronizing of lowland prostitutes is seemingly more common than are casual relationships with Toda or Kota girls or for that matter local Kanarese or Tamilian girls. The choice of a prostitute is a matter of personal taste. Some men do not mind older women, others want them very young; some prefer Anglo-Indians, others Malayalis, and so on. The deciding factor is usually what one can pay. Both the main towns of the Nilgiris, Coonoor and Ootacamund, have a variety of women available. The pimps one approaches do not keep the girls, but can call them from their houses; a client has to pay the pimp, not the girl. During the main tourist season a crew of high-class prostitutes is maintained in, but not by, the main Ootacamund hotels. These women circulate from one hotel to another every few days. At the other end of the scale one occasionally encounters village prostitutes. In a typical case a lowland man kept two non-Badaga women, whom he claimed to be his wife and her sister, but whom he made available to anybody for a small payment.

(*f*) Intercourse with Badaga girls born in one's own village is technically incestuous and as such is frowned upon. Nonetheless men do sometimes have affairs with their parallel cousins who, in kinship terminology, would be called "sisters." It a girl visits a neighbour's house too often, or a youth from that house finds reasons to visit hers, their families get suspicious about the matter. They tell him to go away while the girl is present, or else ask her why she has to visit at this particular time. If such hints do not suffice, the girl may find herself quickly married to somebody else in another village.

(*g*) Real intrafamilial incest is extremely rare, except in the common case of a man having relations with the wife of an elder brother, a matter that can usually be excused. I know of few instances of genuine incest, but can present as meagre evidence of Badagas having an incest wish the fact that a tale about it is told repeatedly and listened to eagerly. This tale, supposedly of Tamil origin, is about a man whose wife died and who then had relations with his own daughter, thinking of her as a fruit that he had grown himself and would now enjoy. There are heavy prohibitions on sexual intercourse between a brother and sister. Were relations to occur between them their entire family would be despised. A brother and sister should not even sit together and talk in front of their elders. In fact affection

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experience, others for cash or a small present (such as cigrettes or chewing tobacco). The opposite situation, involving Badaga women, does not occur. The Todas think of themselves as the equals of the Badagas and do not always take kindly to this intertribal intercourse. From the male Toda point of view a Toda girl who has given herself to a Badaga has probably been raped by him, and the offender is lucky if he escapes a serious beating at the hands of the woman's husband or husbands (Basel Mission 1905: 30; Emeneau 1971: 613). Not long ago an elderly Englishman guilty of the same offence with a Toda girl was hanged on a tree by unknown persons; and earlier a Tamil Muslim was murdered by a gang of Todas after he had seduced several of their women (Madras 1928: 43-44).

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Relations with Toda women were not always so difficult, however. It used to be possible for a Badaga who wanted to enjoy a Toda girl to be given access to the wife of his Toda trading partner, or else that woman would make some arrangements for him with another girl. Such activity used to be indulged in quite openly and was seemingly acceptable to both Todas and Badagas.

The Kotas are considered the lowest in status of all the Nilgiri communities, and so if Badagas had relations with their women it had to be in great secrecy. Kota men would be too scared of the possible consequences to attempt anything with Badaga women. Nonetheless, Kota girls were an easy conquest, for I am told they thought it quite a privilege to have coitus with a Badaga. If a Kota saw that his wife was being seduced by a Badaga he would usually not stop them. It was thought by Kotas that the intelligence and other good qualities of the Badaga man would appear in his offspring, who would grow up as a Kota. In the middle fifties an illuminating case was brought before a council, as a result of a Badaga boy being caught in the embrace of a Kota girl at midday. To hide her shame somewhat at being seen, the girl said she was being raped. Her father stunned the council by saying: "Badagas and Kotas *are* having intercourse; but this boy was doing it in broad daylight!" The implication was that intercourse was permissible between the two groups but only if it were conducted in the secrecy of night.

The Kurumba tribe were greatly feared for their sorcery, and Badagas did not have sexual encounters with Kurumba women; nor under ordinary circumstances did the opposite occur. There is however an epic Badaga folksong about Kadare Gauda, seemingly based on a historical personage, whose brother's wife was seduced

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In a similar arrangement an old man's younger brother slept with the new wife and begot children who were treated as her husband's. Such practices now seem to have stopped. "Children for an older man are a weight on his shoulder," says the proverb.

3.16. In keeping with the idea that intercourse should satisfy a couple, Badagas are familiar with a variety of coital approaches—although nothing like that described in the *Kama Sutra*. The psychological benefits of making love are acknowledged in a proverb: "[If husband and wife are] not on good terms before midnight, they will play after midnight."

Badagas customarily take a bath before having sexual relations, and under normal conditions are both nude when making love. Older couples are generally naked in bed, but nowadays the younger people wear pyjamas or underwear. Young men, particularly if educated in a city, know how to use foreplay to get a woman excited. Until European films were seen in the Nilgiris, however, mouth-kissing was not indulged in, although men did kiss and bite the neck, cheeks and breasts of their women. Inside the house the normal position for intercourse is lying on a bed, but if they have to hurry the couple will use a standing position or stoop over something, with the man entering from behind, as indeed they do when in the forest. Parents may have relations in the same bed their children are sleeping in, in which case they will lie on their sides during intercourse. Curiously, a couple can do this with their baby lying beside them, and it will not be affected by the "bad wind" of coitus; whereas if they do it in another room they must not come near their baby until they have cleaned themselves and put on fresh clothes, for fear that the baby will be affected. Furthermore, if they also have some older children they may take them into the same bed with the baby before having intercourse in that very bed; the belief here being that even though the other children are weaned they too could be affected by this very dangerous "wind" if they were sleeping in another room. Young couples with no children generally sleep in a small room by themselves, on the end of the veranda. If their ageing parents live with them, the couple may leave the inner room to them and sleep under the wide shelf in the outer room. Otherwise a couple will occupy the inner room at night. If a man has two wives he usually has relations with one in the presence of the other, all three sharing the same bed.

Although a young bride should be the first to get up in the morn-

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164 will neither eat nor sleep as usual. Throughout it he should always be covered with cloths, and these can only be of cotton, never wool. The covering is necessary to prevent wind from blowing on the itches. The pus in the spots would exude, but were it to be blown by wind it would go inside the body instead, causing the patient to feel very sick or even to die. The house
164 must always remain ritually pure while someone has
784 chicken-pox; thus men may not smoke in it, the pare-
(783) nts must not have sexual relations, and if the patient is still an unweaned baby its mother must not lie on a bed or on matting, but must sleep on some sacks laid on the floor. During this period nobody throughout the entire hamlet may prepare any foods in oil, and oil may only be used for lamps. When women are cooking in the patient's house, he is taken to another house or at least to the outer room, since the smoke from cooking can make his infection worse. Bands of
• (177) Kota and Kurumba musicians, both lower status and impure local tribes, are on no account allowed into the hamlet while chicken-pox prevails there, even though they would normally attend at Badaga weddings, funerals and certain festivals. Therefore if a
164 person happens to die while there is chicken-pox in the
766 hamlet the corpse will quickly be buried or cremated;
177 but then later, when there is no longer any chicken-pox, a band of Kota musicians will come and the traditional funeral ceremonies will be observed, using a stick in place of the corpse. Of all the vari-
164 ous taboos that come into play during chicken-pox,
784 that against sexual relations is the most crucial, that against cooking with oil the second, and that against Kota or Kurumba music the third most important.

757 People suffering from this disease are given
758 "cooling" foods to eat, and preferably no "heating"
(261) foods at all. If the patient is an unweaned infant his mother has to adopt this food restriction too. Beyond this, there is also a technique for treating chicken-pox. On the third day after some spots

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were sacrificed by beheading directly in front of the Ma:riamma temple. Two features of this ceremony are of interest: one is that the soil was ploughed at that point so that the blood of the victims flowed into the earth; the other is that a curtain was drawn in front of the image of Ma:riamma while the beheadings took place, lest the sight of all the blood should so arouse her thirst that she would go on the rampage through some villages, seeking the death of her human victims. A few years ago the animal sacrifices ceased. The symbolism suggests that Ma:riamma is a type of Hindu earth mother concerned as much with the fertility of the soil as with the control of disease: its control is obviously linked to the conservation of agricultural labour, from an ecological viewpoint.

If a person gets smallpox it means that he has done something impure. For this reason a therapist must pray to Ma:riamma for forgiveness of the patient's sins. The goddess is thereby pleased, not offended, if the patient recovers; yet if she is very angry she may still cause further deaths.

For a very long time the Badagas have relied on inoculations against smallpox. Probably the first person to administer these was the German missionary G.H. Weigle, who in 1846 vaccinated about 700 Badagas, "as a result of which a whole village gave him false names, for fear of magic" (Basel Mission 1846: 48-49; Eppler 1900: 79). This represented a remarkable change of attitude, for the situation up to that time was that, "...many refuse to take any remedies themselves, or to allow any to be administered to their relations, and thence arises their antipathy to vaccination. The supposition is not as to the nature or inefficiency of the means, but it is the fear of offending the goddess..."(Harkness 1832: 117, note). There is some evidence that the large-scale festivities in honour of Ma:riamma were adopted by the Badagas only towards the middle of the nineteenth century,

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saying anything." The man remained quiet. Then the exorcist rubbed his hand around the plate of rice, and while staring at the woman said some spells. Next he told her to come back to her own seat, and she did. Then he again told the ghost it was past 0800 hrs. and the ghost had not yet left. It replied that it would go if it were given music, hymn-singing and a picture of Murugan. Then, on a relative's suggestion, the proceedings were postponed. That evening they held a *pu:ja* in one of the houses, with this same exorcist in charge. He gave a small religious picture to the ghost, and it went away—if indeed it was ever there!

Other Mental Disturbances

8.7. Cases of insanity are rarely observed in Badaga villages, not because of their infrequency but because the victims are usually killed off by their relatives with an over-dose of opium hidden in some food. In 1970 a madman hobbled with chains could however be seen in one village, but this was very unusual. Insanity is thought to be caused by a demoness, *Ka:teri pe:* who possesses a man, takes his food from him, will not leave him, and ultimately brings exhaustion by not letting him rest properly.

8.8. Witchcraft accusations are common in many parts of India (Epstein 1959), but among the Badagas this kind of paranoid behaviour does not occur *within* the community. Witchcraft is nonetheless present, but it is only the Kurumba and Irula sorcerers and occasional Todas (Rivers 1906: 262; Francis 1908: 144) whom Badagas accuse of it. This displacement of anxiety onto members of another tribe probably helps reduce it effectively. In one recent case a newly married man was apparently experiencing sexual frustrations with his wife: at any rate, he claimed that very often as he slept with his wife at night in a room off the veranda a Kurumba came, separated the two, and built a low brick wall in the bed between them. Such a thing could occur, it was believed, because the Kurumbas had the power to open a bolted door from the outside. The only known way to curtail a Kurumba's powers is to either knock out one of his teeth or cut off his hair (and probably burn it). Important in the containment of witchcraft is the fact that each cluster of Badaga villages appoints a Kurumba sorcerer to protect those Badagas from the sorcery of his fellow tribesmen. His concern for the welfare of his Badaga hosts is expressed symbolically by the key role he plays

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in the festivals that mark the sowing and the harvesting of Badaga crops (Francis 1908: 154). This was in great contrast to the other Kurumbas, who were "believed to be possessed of the power of outraging women, removing their livers, and so causing their death, while the wound heals by magic, so that no trace of the operation is left" (Thurston 1912: 232). An old Badaga therapist told me there is a plant species which neither goats nor any cattle will eat. The Kurumba takes a leaf of it and then with this touches the body of his victim. It opens up and he removes all of the internal organs, replacing them with any kind of rubbish. Then by touching the body opening again with the same leaf, the sorcerer closes up the wound and leaves the victim to die over the next few days. Otherwise it is said that these people can come to a Badaga village "in the form of files, dogs or cats to kill those who have refused their demands" (Benbow 1930: 11). Although the Kurumbas claim to have ceased all sorcery since a council meeting around 1956, some Badagas still fear their abilities and some Kurumbas still believe in them. Even in recent years, however, Badagas have not become the subjects of witchcraft accusation themselves.

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8.9. There is a medicine to cure fear, given in a wide variety of circumstances. If for example one member of a newlywed couple feels fearful about his or her sexual obligations (cf. 3.9), a knowledgeable woman provides some of this medicine. It is made with some cockspur flower leaf, which is crushed and swallowed with water or milk, morning and night, for three or five days, beginning on a Sunday, Tuesday or Friday morning.

Some other treatments for fear have been discussed above, in the section on childhood maladies (5.40-5.41).

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Ayurvedic colleges that can be found elsewhere in India: Ayurveda is for them an alien medical system, taught in a foreign language beyond the Nilgiris.

There do seem to be some differences between the practices of male and of female therapists. Most obviously, women deal with gynaecology and obstetrics, while men deal with illnesses like Big Wind which involve baring a male patient's genitals. Men also tend to treat skin diseases, defective limbs, deafness, etc., while women tend to concentrate on all the illnesses affecting women and children. Otherwise therapists of either sex do treat patients of either sex, insofar as propriety will allow. The manner of treatment varies somewhat, however, in that male therapists often use spells (*mantras*) in their curing, whereas female therapists rarely if ever do, but instead rely more on herbal medicines.

10.5. When a person contracts an illness he first goes to a therapist in his own or a neighbouring village. If that person cannot effect a cure the patient, perhaps escorted by his therapist, goes to seek the advice of a more distant therapist who is noted for his abilities with an appropriate treatment. Only if this specialist also fails with the patient does he go to a Western or an Ayurvedic doctor, who usually lives in one of the towns and is a non-Badaga. The above is not however an invariable route for the dissatisfied patient, for there are other factors that may guide him differently. Thus if he is closely related to a therapist in a distant village, or a Western-style doctor in town, he may go to that person first. If there are young college-educated people in his family, they may encourage him to go directly to a hospital. Or if the treatment recommended by a Western or Ayurvedic doctor is too costly, a poor person may be obliged to continue his treatment at the hands of a Badaga village therapist; or he may go to a Kurumba specialist instead. There is thus considerable variation in the management of an illness.

There is also some variation in payment practices. It is usual to give some small fee, if only as a courtesy, to all therapists, male and female, for any kind of treatment. Kurumba specialists now expect a substantial 100-200 rupees for a treatment. K. Sithamma however was an example of a therapist who was told by her eldest son that, because of their family's respectable position in society, she should not accept any fees whatever; this was also the case with her mother-in-law and with some others. Sithamma felt

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task, and does not put it on again till she has bathed herself at the end of the pollution period.

Today each cluster of villages (i.e. Panchayat Board) has one trained nurse and two or three midwives appointed by the State Government. The later are just experienced Badaga midwives with no formal training who happen to have been recommended for the position.

Exorcists and Shamans

10.7. Badaga exorcists are always male, and are very few in number. As often as not Badagas' ghosts have to be exorcized by non-Badaga exorcists. These men may also have lesser therapeutic skills, such as making talismans to ward off fevers and evil influences from the children who wear them. The idiosyncratic nature of exorcism is sufficiently indicated by the examples in Chapter 8 and calls for no further elaboration here.

The most feared *mantrava:dis* (shamans) in the Nilgiris were members of the Kurumba tribe, one of whom might be "called in on all occasions of blight and murrain to propitiate or scare the demon of disease"—if such there be (Breeks 1873: 53). Though this may still occasionally happen, I find no record of Kurumbas acting as exorcists to the Badagas, even though they did offer much supernatural protection to them from the sorcery of other malicious Kurumbas ; and they do sometimes try to cure the sick. Thus, "In 1891, the inmates of a single Kurumba but were said to have been murdered, and the hut burnt to ashes, because one of the family had been treating a sick Badaga child, and failed to cure it.... Again, in 1900, a whole family of Kurumbas were murdered, of which the head, who had a reputation as a medicine man, was believed to have brought disease and death into a Badaga village." (Thurston 1912: 233-34 ; also 1909 : 86). The Badagas were never so brutal with their own therapists, but the latter never seemed to be holding the threat of sorcery over the heads of their fellows. The worst that an unpopular therapist might have to suffer would be the mockery of an appropriate proverb; for instance, "He has healed others, but cannot cure himself" (Metz 1864 :95), or "It is half bad if you do something [wrong] when you know about it; entirely bad if you do it when you are ignorant."

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instructions for taking the medicine he prepares from it, depending upon which of the half-dozen related *ka:male* diseases he diagnoses. 10.9. Therapists, both male and female, who treat people are regularly called in to treat animals too, and midwives are often asked to help deliver calves. Kurumbas and Todas are not called in to treat Badaga cattle; (the Todas treat their own). Women therapists never treat cattle for *kundu* (see Appendix), since this requires that the therapists remove his loin-cloth at the time.

It is a common subject for question and objection on the part of Western intellectuals that primitive therapeutic systems probably do no demonstrable good to the patient, unless it be the psychological good of convincing him that he is cared for. This would not, I think, be a charitable view to adopt with Badaga therapeutics, since the many herbal remedies do demonstrably cure very often. Though we can probably accept that therapy has a real role in maintenance of the human organism and in its reproduction, we cannot however speak with so much confidence of the ecological role played by therapists in the preservation of cattle. The prayers and rituals for curing cattle perhaps relieve Badaga anxieties, but they clearly bring no objective benefit to the cattle unless accompanied by effective medicines. Most of the cures and advice offered by therapists do in fact have to be ruled out as ineffective: it is perhaps only with the birth and raising of calves that we can feel confident the therapist makes a genuine contribution to the health of cattle and hence to the supply of Badaga foodstuffs.

Missionary Therapists

10.10. It is important to realize that Badagas have been familiar with selected aspects of Western medical practice since shortly after John Sullivan established the first British settlement on the Nilgiris in 1819 (Hockings 1973). While there is no record of his having offered, or even been qualified to do, any medical treatment for the native population, others did begin to do this soon afterwards. In the 1840s a retired judge, J.G. Casamajor, devoted his declining years to the health and welfare of his Badaga neighbours: "There was a room in [his] Kaity house, a sort of hospital, where Mr. Casamajor for a long time attended every morning from 7-8 o'clock, giving medicines to the fever patients, putting plasters upon the wounds and sores of the poor, giving clothes to the naked [sic!],

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and alms to the destitute. The poor people no doubt sometimes abused his kindness and he detected such practices now and then... Among the whole population of the Kaity valley and farther, he was held in the highest veneration." (Basel Mission 1849: 30-31) Casamajor died in 1849, leaving his property to the Basel Mission. The first missionary to concern himself with medical matters there was the German Gottfried H. Weigle (1816-1885), who vaccinated about 700 Badaga children in 1846 (Mullens 1854: 61). Weigle did not stay long, however, and the later missionaries were mostly not skilled in any kind of therapy beyond bandaging. Indeed one of them instilled a genuine distress in many Badagas by causing great loss of face in connection with bandaging a burn. The Rev. Mörike had attended a fire-walking ceremony at which he refused the common courtesy of removing his shoes, and was clearly upset that walking on fire could be done successfully in the name of a heathen god:

> ... this act serves as the main proof of the truth of their idolatry. We therefore prayed the Lord to do something with His strong arm to save His own and its rights. And something happened. One of these invulnerable Brahmins burned his feet so much that he was forced to come to us for help and bandage. This caused great distress among the people and the Brahmins were not a little uneasy. We used this occurrence as much as we could for preaching the Truth of Jesus Christ but it did not come through. Now they say that the one who burned his feet must have committed a very grave sin or else this would not have happened to him, and that now he had been punished by the gods. (Mörike 1851 : 38-39)

Much more recently the Rev. Henry Gulliford recorded in his diary (14 June, 1934) that at a Nilgiri mission hospital, "Two coolies had been brought very ill to the hospital. They prayed over them and they died. The people said that the doctor said *mantrams* over them, which killed them!"

Despite such bad public relations, the early missionaries did build up some confidence in their very limited medical abilities. The Badagas often sought bandaging, medicines, and even inoculations from the German and Swiss missionaries (Ouchterlony 1848: 65; Sawday 1884 : 15). By the early twentieth century Roman Catholic

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nuns were also making medicines available to Badagas (Tignous 1911: 156). Indeed, medical work was becoming a regular missionary strategy. The Rt. Rev. W. V. Karl, the only Badaga to become a bishop, wrote: "Medical work is essential to any full presentation of the gospel. It shows forth the love of God in a way that all can understand.... A doctor should also be a preacher. He can surely have great influence on the Badagas." (Karl 1945: 31) 10.11. In the nineteenth century Badagas strongly objected—and wisely so—to using the government hospitals of the day. One had been founded at Kotagiri in 1832, another at Ootacamund in 1834, a third at Coonoor in 1839, and a few others were established much later in some larger villages. We must remember that antisepsis made safe surgery possible in India only from the 1880s onwards; before that time hospitals had been dangerous centres of infection.

In about 1933 Dr K. I. Simon, a Malayali Christian trained in scientific medicine, set up the Ketti [formerly Kaity] Medical Mission, which remained active until 1955 when funds ran out and Dr Simon moved wholly into private practice. Table 8 makes it evident

Table 8. Performance of the Ketti Medical Mission, 1934-1953

	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	943
Annual number of cases	8602	—	—	—	11468	—	11044	11279	12848	13043
Operations performed	158		—	—	148	—	115	153	127	107
Maternity cases	—	—	—	—	22	—	20	18	10	8

	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Annual number of cases	—	—	—	8847	—	9147	—	9252	8547	7134
Operations performed	—	—	—	109	—	152	—	174	132	92
Maternity cases	—	—	—	9	—	10	—	9	—	9

(Source : Ketti Medical Mission Reports)

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that the mission hospital was of considerable value, particularly during the War years, except as a place for childbirth. Badagas and others came from villages as far as twenty miles away to seek treatment, and a number of doctor's visits were made to patients in their homes as well. "When our work was first started we were confronted by opposition in some of the villages. Now opposition has disappeared and wherever we go we are welcomed. Moreover, when a patient is very ill we are often requested by Hindu Badagas to hold the patient's hand and pray to God for his or her recovery." (Ketti Medical Mission 1940: 3). From the village where K. Sithamma was born "has come the request to open a small dispensary, the villagers offering to bear part of the cost. If the way opens we shall be glad to help...." (Ketti Medical Mission 1941: 6)

Dr Simon found that the common Badaga diseases were "pneumonia, typhoid, dysentery, hill diarrhoea, malaria, rickets, intestinal parasites, tuberculosis, anaemea, food deficiency diseases, skin diseases such as scabies, ring worm etc." (Ketti Medical Mission 1951 : 3). He also recorded a few deaths among patients due to pneumonia, diphtheria, cerebral hemorrhage, and damage during birth (Ketti Medical Mission 1934: 10; 1938: 3-4; 1951: 3). This is in contrast with the situation reported a century earlier, when the most prevalent diseases were said to be "small pox, occasionally fever, and an affection of the eyes resembling ophthalmia" (Ouchterlony 1848: 65).

The inroads of scientific medicine have been such that in 1972 the informant Sithamma told me that although she used to recommend Badaga therapy as the best, she was now recommending Western medicine and hospitals to people. In her well-informed view therapists giving traditional treatment no longer know it properly: the good therapists are dying out, while younger women are not seriously interested in studying the subject. An old therapist should not teach, but simply be observed by students, and today the young are not motivated to learn in this way. The few girls she had trained in midwifery were still calling for her help whenever they had to attend a delivery.

Knowledge of Physiology

10.12. If we are to gain some further insight into Badaga conceptions of health and medicine, we need to discover their indigenous

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754 (*c*) Illness can also be the work of non-Badaga shamans or
177 sorcerers, who can send a bad spirit into the victim. As with ghost
753 possession, it has to be removed by an exorcist who knows the
[755] appropriate spells. It is said that in earlier days every Kurumba who had learnt sorcery was allowed to try his power sout. This would be decided by a formal council of the tribe, who would give the novices a stipulated period, usually one to four weeks, during which the young men could test their abilities. The Badagas would then be warned of what was to come, so the villagers could take every precaution and stay indoors at night. Each youth was permitted to kill one man by sorcery during this period. Deaths in the
[961] Badaga community were also occasionally ascribed to the sorcery of Todas (Rivers 1906: 261, 635); and Kurumbas say there are many Badaga sorcerers too.

828 (*d*) Emotional and mental problems are otherwise said to be the
753 result of sins done by a man's ancestors, whereas bodily diseases
783 are in most cases an effect of the patient's own sins, as in the case of ulceration cited below (see *i*). Thus if the wealthy man becomes poor, or a poor man becomes rich, he attributes the change of fortune to the deeds of his ancestors. If a man lacks appetite, or does not enjoy his life or possessions, then he has a sickness resulting from the sins of his ancestors. There is no cure for it; and so if many cures are attempted and none works, it is thereby known that he has an illness caused by ancestral sin. Leprosy and mental diseases are seen as ultimately caused by that same sin. (As an explanation for the therapist's impotence this is of course very effective.)

732 (*e*) Often we find frequency of an infirmity being explained as
826 an effect of "blood." For example, in one family there are two girls and five boys. One boy and both girls are normal, but three other boys are deaf and dumb, and one is fairly deaf but can talk. As the situation was explained to me, "there must be some wrong in the parents' blood." This is perhaps still an allusion to ancestral sin.

753 (*f*) More immediate causes of some illnesses lie in one's diet or
261 bodily activities, even in uncleanliness. Among the dietary problems there is a general malady called *so:lu*, "over-heat," caused by eating insufficient milk products. Eating bad food, or eating too quickly, can also bring unfortunate results.

753 (*g*) Over-exertion may dislodge the colon or an artery and bring
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illness. Sexual over-exertion can similarly make a young man incapacitated (cf. 3.10).

(*h*) The odour that follows on an act of coitus, or the "bad wind" that emanates from a corpse, or from a childbirth, are widely held to be responsible for illness and even death in unweaned infants.

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(*i*) Some misfortunes, like bites, stings and burns, are caused by quite obvious external agents. What we would consider equally obvious cases of infection, however, may be considered by Badagas to have a more complicated causation ; as in the reported case of a woman with

753 164 797

> an extensive ulceration from the right arm pit to the right shoulder and to the right breast. It was full of black-headed maggots .... It seems she had been in this state for one and a half months in the village ... The rest of the crowd made most unkind remarks at her expense. Some said that it was on account of her bad life in a previous birth that she had to suffer thus. Her husband's brother said that I must either cure her soon or put her to a painless end .... I sprinkled into the deep ulcerated tissue a small quantity of chloro form, and the maggots fell dead in hundreds .... There followed an uneventful recovery ... (Ketti Medical Mission 1949: 4-5)

(The writer was of course an Indian doctor trained in scientific medicine.)

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(*j*) Depigmentation of the skin is caused by the supposed "bite of a blindworm."

(177)

(*k*) Nowadays a "germ theory" is not unknown, as for example in the explanation offered me for why teeth rot. Cleanliness of body is strongly approved of today.

(177)

(*l*) In the case of plague it is thought that mosquitoes carry the disease from rats to men. This modern-sounding but inaccurate theory probably arose from the publicity that surrounded the mosquito eradication programme on the lower slopes some year ago.

(177) (539)

(*m*) And finally there is a belief that bad luck and illness tend to repeat themselves for an individual: as a proverb puts it, "The very foot which is scarred will be hurt again."

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ness. On the day before the first prayer an old or important man or the priest himself goes out and brings three plants; one of these is holly-leaf barberry another Bengal currant. When he gets home with them he leaves them on the roof of the cowshed. Each morning the villagers go to the Bassava (i.e., Lingayat ox) image in the temple. There the priest breaks coconuts and offers *pu:ja*; some important men of the village help him. They pray to God—no particular God—to cure the cattle, and after the *pu:ja* all go to the village green. There they make an odd number of fires in a straight line. Some of the leaves previously gathered from the jungle are then put on each fire. The man who lives in the Great House (that of the village's founding ancestor) is the person who brings fire from his home in the first instance. So as to be in a purified state for this act, he should lie apart from his family on the previous night on sacking or hessian. He should not wear any woollen item, or have any sexual contact. Once the fires are burning, the whole herd of the village, including also the apparently healthy cattle, is brought to the green and made to cross the line of fires. Although there are a number of fires there, they have been built so close together that the cattle cannot pass in between them but have to walk right across them. This whole process is repeated on each of the three mornings. 232

(*e*) There is a very rare eye disease among cattle called *kaṇ:belle*; the eye waters and there is whiteness over the pupil. To cure it a therapist grinds the leaf of cured tobacco to extract the juice, and mixes this with salt and water. The liquid is poured into the animal's eye when it opens. This is done two or three times every morning for several days, until the whiteness clears up.

Until recently epidemics in the buffalo herds were attributed to the sorcery of Kurumbas or Todas (Metz 1864: 21-22). [177)

[p. 212 is blank]

177 [21] But there is a very real reason for claiming that 1913 is a crucial year, the last year of what we might call "traditional" Badaga society. For during the 1914-1918 War, the Badagas were drawn into the war economy to produce quantities of European vegetables, primarily the potato, and to sell these to military forces for what was at that time considered handsome profit. A few Badagas also came into contact with factory work and the idea of the coöperative society, when they found employment in a local munitions factory. This is not to deny that any changes had occurred in the society prior to 1913: they certainly had, but they were slow to appear and restricted in their scope; moreover, they are generally ill-documented. The most significant and far-reaching of 19th Century changes 178 were (1) the abandoning of some slash-and-burn cultivation for exclusively settled farming, around 1860-1870; (2) the impact of mission schools, the beginnings of literacy, and the formation of a distinct Badaga Christian community; (3) the appearance of new types of merchandise, and the adoption of a cash economy in place of the earlier system of barter.

127 Published descriptions of Badagas prior to 1913 are these (full information is given in the Bibliography):

1812 Keys: "A Topographical Description of the Neelagherry Mountains."

1820 Macpherson: "Letter to John Sullivan Esq."

1821 Ward: "Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey of the Neelagherry Mountains..."

1823 Mackworth: "Diary of a Tour through Southern India..."

1829 Hough: "Letters on the Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, &c. &c. of the Neilgherries..."

1832 Harkness: "A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the

175 British early in the 19th Century, therefore, the three communities — Badagas, Todas and Kotas — who inhabited the summits of these hills were extremely isolated, and nobody had ever made an effective military conquest of their homeland. With much trepidation a party of the tribal people would venture down to the plains once a year on a trading expedition; but despite this they believed that they were inhabiting a world a little more than a hundred miles square — and so far as their external social contacts were concerned this was quite true.

132 The undulating, unevenly wooded downland which makes up the entire plateau experiences considerable variation in rainfall. The Nilgiris receive from 60 to 160 inches of rain annually, depending on the topographical aspect. The western parts of the plateau rely mainly on the southwest monsoon in July-August; whereas the eastern parts derive much of their rain from the northeastern monsoon in October-December.

The average mean daily temperature in the center of the plateau is around 60°F, while in the Wynaad it is much hotter (and also much wetter). For equability of temperature and for its mildly invigorating qualities the plateau is therefore scarcely rivaled anywhere in the tropics; whereas the Wynaad becomes severely hot in summer, is much less healthy, and is prey to a virulent type of malaria (Arputhanathan 1953: 1-3).

175 From the year 1820 the British residents began to take advantage of this • 177 healthful setting, and so the towns of Coonoor, Kotagiri and Ootacamund (the District headquarters), as well as the military cantonment of Wellington, gradually took shape and grew. More recently the town of Gudalur has grown up in the 631 Wynaad, at the foot of the escarpment. Ootacamund, Coonoor and Gudalur are now the headquarters of the three administrative regions or taluks into which the

631 District has been divided.

The Inhabitants of the Nilgiris

000 An inscription at Chamrajnagar (near Mysore), dated to 1117 A.D., claims that a Hoysala minister entered the Nilgiris and "frightened the Todas" (Derrett 1957: 47). In 1124 another petty ruler attacked Kulkala, which is perhaps a Kota settlement (kōkil in the Kota language) on the Nilgiri Plateau (Derrett 1957: 60). These two dates provide a terminus ante quem for the settlement of the Toda and perhaps the Kota tribes on the hills.

175 In 1602 or 1603 a Portuguese priest visited the plateau -- the first Euro-
177 pean known to have done so -- and reported in a letter to his superior on his en-
174 counters with the Todas and Badagas (Fenicio 1603). And although the jungle tribes of Kurumbas and Irulas are not mentioned in any source prior to Buchanan's report of 1807, there is no ethno-historical reason to suppose that they have not also been in the Nilgiris for at least as long as the Badagas.

The whole question of the origins of these tribes is undemonstrable archaeologically and quite irrelevant to this study. There is however very strong evidence to support the common belief that the Badagas were not originally a tribe at all (in the popular usage of that word), but rather were descendants of various wanderers or refugees from the old kingdom of Mysore who settled down in the Nilgiris during the period 1400-1800, and were thereby obliged through social pressures to behave <u>like</u> a tribe amongst tribes. The nature of this "tribalization" process will be discussed in the following chapter. Both their origin in Mysore and their complex contacts with the indigenous Nilgiri tribes
197 have molded Badaga culture and social organization markedly. The Badagas still speak a dialect of the Kannada language; whereas the Todas and Kotas each have

their own Dravidian language, and the Irulas and Kurumbas speak what are recognizable as dialects of Tamil.

From the year 1820 the British began to settle on the plateau (Ward 1821: brii), bringing with them a motley train of Tamilian, Mysorean, Malabari and other dependents, including a few half-breeds. With this contact much of Southern India began to learn about the strange people, hardly Hindus, who inhabited these hills. Immigrants began to find laboring jobs in the tea and coffee plantations that were started there from the 1830's onward; and in the process of taking up this new occupation they brought the Nilgiri tribes into closer contact with the traditions and practices of South Indian village Hinduism. Today the plantations are the major source of the District income, and attract an ever-increasing number of migrant laborers from various parts of Southern India.

In the 1951 Census the most populous communities in the District, distinguished on a language basis, were the following:

Indigenous Plateau Groups:

Badagas	67,251
Irulas, Kurumbas, etc.	1,786
Todas (including Christian Todas)	879
Total:	69,916

Immigrant Groups:

Tamilians	119,045
Malayalis	41,461
Kanarese	40,241
Telugus	26,469
Total:	227,216

(Source -- Arputhanathan 1953: 60)

For some unexplained reason the 1300-odd Kotas are not listed at all; presumably they were included in the Badaga total (since they probably spoke Badagu to the census-takers).

000 In 1951 the total population of the District numbered 311,729; and by 1961 it had risen to 409,308 -- a massive increase of 32% in a decade, attributable to the high rate of local immigration as well as to the increase of births over deaths.

•177 In summary, therefore, while the Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Irulas are all tiny communities when compared with the numbers of Badagas, the Badagas in turn are now greatly outnumbered by settlers who have recently arrived from all parts of the Southern Indian plains.

The Badagas

161 Until the recent influx of these laborers, the Badagas were the preponderant community in the Nilgiris. Today they number a little under 100,000, and occupy nearly 400 hamlets dotted across the District.

101 The word Badaga (more correctly Baduga) means "Northerner" in their dialect of the Kannada language, and was presumably first used as a name for them when they became an immigrant community among the tribal groups already 174 established in the Nilgiri Hills. Their origin is clearly traceable to the plains of Southern Mysore, which lie just to the north of the Nilgiris. Badaga traditions indicate that they arrived as small parties of refugees over a period of several hundred years. Because some of the earliest of these settlers were of the Lingayat faith when they arrived it is only reasonable to suppose that they left Mysore 175 after the founding of the Lingayat sect ca. 1160 A.D. That there were a few Bad- 167 aga villages in the hills by the year 1602 is known from the account of the Nilgiris sent to his superior by Father Fenicio (Fenicio 1603). But as many Badagas still speak about their ancestors having fled from the terrors of Tippu Sultan's reign in Mysore (1786-1799), there is also good ground for supposing that the last of the Badaga migrants did not reach the Nilgiris until the end of the 18th Century

requirements were mainly salt, sugar, tobacco and a few trinkets. Cloth might either be obtained at the market or would be brought up into the Nilgiri villages from the Coimbatore Plain by an itinerant Chetti trader (Ward 1821: lxv). The establishment of a bazaar in Ootacamund during the 1820's, and later of others in Coonoor, Wellington, Kotagiri, Ketti and Manjur, made consumer goods available to the Badagas on a scale and in a variety never before known to them. The desire to acquire some of these new items was presumably one factor in the drive towards greater participation in the cash economy.

Yet the transition took a century to complete. All of the basic requirements for food, goods and services continued to be provided either by the efforts of the Badagas themselves or by their Toda, Kota and Kurumba associates. From the 1820's onwards the Badagas attended the local markets for what they had previously bought in Gundlupet or Kiramagai -- salt, sugar, tobacco and trinkets -- but they never sold very much in the markets, and so they rarely had much cash to spend. With the First World War, however, changes in their marketing practices became more apparent. The crucial demand for vegetables to feed the many European troops in India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon stimulated the change in crops that we have described above (pp. 94-99): Badagas began exporting potatoes and other vegetables to these remote places, and some made handsome profits (Francis 1908: 167).

The cash that came in from this new venture was spent in a great variety of ways. The most obvious was in buying new clothes: in the 1920's men first began to sport European-style shirts and jackets, and in the 1930's women first started to wear colored saris. A few of the more resourceful men invested their incomes in more land or houses, thus laying a stable foundation for future genera-

489 up or down the Nilgiri escarpment by hand, on horseback, or on bullock carts (Ward 1821: lxv). With such a restriction it was impossible for Badagas to export fresh vegetables to other parts of India, even had they been interested in doing so (Grigg 1880: 480).

In 1899 a railway was completed from Coimbatore to Coonoor, and by 1913 it reached as far as Ootacamund. Its construction involved Badaga contractors and Badaga laborers, giving to many their first experience of earning cash by working. When the 1914-1918 War began there was thus a quick and easy means of exporting fresh vegetables to all parts of India, and even beyond.

During the years between the two wars trucks became a common phenomenon in the District, and roads were improved to accommodate them. Some of the Badagas who became middlemen purchased trucks to improve their business.

At this time a local bus service also began. In the years since World War II the network of bus routes has become so complex that there is no longer a Badaga hamlet anywhere which is more than three miles from a bus route leading to one of the towns. 57 different routes are now traveled within the Nilgiris District, some by several competing companies.

The existence of buses in such profusion has helped the Badagas in more matters than marketing. They are now able to go to town frequently -- typically once a week -- and thus their children can attend high school and even college without having to lose their close contact with the home. Literacy and newspapers have spread, too, with the help of the easy transportation system. Literacy today is quite as high in the rural population of the Nilgiris as it is in Madras City, according to a survey which I conducted: in 1963, 77.8% of Badaga males, and 51.8% of females, were literate; whereas in 1961 69.6% of Madras City males, and 48.2%

212 of females, were literate (India 1962: 133). Even old Badagas are often familiar with daily news stories, with weather forecasts and political predictions.

•177 517 (484) (494) One of the most important benefits of the bus system, at least in the eyes of the Badagas, is that it permits frequent trips to the movie houses. Film-going is an important event in the lives of most Badaga families today; what they see has a great impact on them; and in nearly every family there is at least one film-goer. Some of the most popular films are dramatizations of Indian history or of the epic stories. These are presented in such a way that they reinforce traditional ideas about Hinduism and the nature of the universe. But equally popular are the films about "modern" life, about social problems such as divorce, widow remarriage, "love" marriages and intercaste marriages; dramas which are presented against a background of affluence that is a new experience to the villager. These "modern" themes extol urban life, untraditional marriage practices, and the desirability of owning such luxury goods as cameras, watches, radios, mechanical toys and sports cars. The impact of these films is already clear: younger Badagas yearn for watches, cars, cameras and all the other paraphernalia that 517 they have come to associate with modern urban life. A sample of 301 Badaga males in 1963 gave this information about their film-going habits:

Frequency:

Never go	17.6%
Rarely go	23.9%
Once a month	19.3%
Once a week	19.3%
More than once a week	1.7%
(Not ascertained)	18.3%

178 tional occupations include school-teachers, local government officials, bus drivers,
463 and factory workers.

Our sample of 301 adolescent and adult Badaga males (aged 15-85) in 1963
463 had the following employment pattern; (the categories are taken from the Census of
[125] India):

I	Cultivating own or rented land	59.6%
II	Agricultural laborer	5.0%
III	Forestry and livestock	.0%
IV	Cottage industries	0.7%
V	Manufacturing	3.7%
VI	Construction	4.0%
VII	Trade and business	0.3%
VIII	Transport and communications	3.7%
IX	Teaching and "professions"	13.0%
X	Non-workers, students	10.0%

It is clear that farm-work is still the most prevalent activity; but now a substantial proportion of the men are working in occupations (Categories V to IX) that are typical of participation in a monetary economy; with the important exception of commerce itself.

Law and Administration

Since early in the 19th Century the Badagas were indirectly ruled by
•177 British administrators. Contact with the British had relatively little effect in the
[175] early years, however. The transition from a barter to a cash economy was very
[65] slow, although in the last century the British did introduce a few new crops and new tools to the Badagas. Only in the 1860's did the Badagas really feel a heavy
[199] impact from the presence of the British. Two things happened at that time. One
[241] was the appearance of a separate Badaga Christian community encouraged and protected by the local Englishmen; the other was the legal end to slash-and-burn cultivation and the fixing of all field boundaries.

177 Until the end of the last century Badagas seduloously avoided the British
178 legal system and its officers. The traditional Badaga system, which we described
121 earlier (pp. 29-43), continued to operate effectively. In the following chapter we shall describe the social change which came about during the present century when Badagas were obliged to adapt their legal system so as to make use of the official Indian one too.

657 Local government under the British was in practice confined for the most
(631) part to the municipalities. Some police stations were established in rural areas,
(625) and local roads were constructed; but in general there was little attempt to im-
(871) prove the lot of the Badagas. In a few villages the presence of free mission schools from 1857 onward nevertheless did much to raise the standard of education (cf. Grigg 1880: 423-26).

After Independence, on the other hand, the Indian government began to pay a great deal of attention to developing the rural sector of the country. The Nilgiris was not selected for inclusion in the areas subjected to intensive community development in the early 1950's, but local panchayat offices were set up in the administrative "villages" of the Nilgiris, and began the dissemination of information and the improvement of basic services. The Badagas were classified as a "Backward Class" and received special help in these matters from the Harijan
(312) Welfare Department. Today most villages, as a result of these efforts, have a
(491) fairly hygienic supply of running tap-water, a track connecting them with the main
(365) roads, and an electricity supply. Many villages have started their own coopera-
(474) tive society, through which they get loans and agricultural supplies against the security of their lands or houses.

177 Certain pieces of legislation often regarded as milestones in the recent

177 "democratization" of Indian society have affected the Badagas very little, and these we will very briefly review.

The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856, had no particular effect on the Badagas, since there was never any stringent regulation against the remarriage of Badaga widows. The Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937, has always been totally ignored by Badagas. Women have never challenged their traditional treatment either because it goes against this 1937 law or because it contravenes any subsequent laws. Nor does the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, receive due recognition from the Badagas: marriages are still not always monogamous, and are still sometimes contracted with grooms below 18 years or brides below 15. Kotas and lowland Harijans, although supposedly protected by the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, are never allowed into Badaga temples, and are normally served with separate "untouchable" glasses when they drink at a tea-shop.

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AW50 Badaga AW50

CHAPTER VII

SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

(Continued)

The Position of the Badagas in Nilgiri Society Today

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The traditional system of cultural interdependence linking the indigenous communities is a system so complex and yet so loosely organized in structure that it has changed to varying extents in different parts of the Nilgiris during this century. Some of the indigenous peoples, such as the Kotas, are much more eager than others to activate the traditional relationships; some, like the Badagas, are much more dependent than others on the cash economy. Why this should be so can not be explained by one uniform factor. The availability of a nearby labor market, close bus routes to town, the tribal residence patterns and the relative closeness of particular tribal settlements, are all important factors in determining the extent to which the Badagas of any one hamlet have dropped their traditional ties with the other indigenous groups.

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Thus, to cite one example, the Badagas of the Kunda region (some 20 miles south of Ootacamund) tend to be more conservative in outlook than Badagas elsewhere, since it is mainly these Kunda Badagas who still normally invite a Kota band to play at their ceremonies, and who in other ways activate their ties with the nearby Kota village. Elsewhere in the Nilgiris the great majority of Badagas eschew contact with Kotas because, while they recognize this contact as a traditional link,

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they now consider it demeaning for them. A "modern" Badaga who wants to be

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648 Similar utilitarian adaptations to new possibilities opened up by an expanding cash economy are to be observed in nearly every aspect of the traditional relationships, not only between Badagas and Kotas, but between the other tribes as well. Todas -- to mention another case -- in many parts of the Nilgiris no longer take the trouble to make their annual rounds of the neighboring Badaga villages, for they know that so many Badagas will deny them their traditional dues that the material gains no longer make the journey worth-while. Badagas, for their part, never request the Todas to come and take their gifts, and now only rarely seek out a Toda friend if some particular article is really needed from him.

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648 Stated in its most general terms, therefore, the situation in the Nilgiris is now such that the Badagas and the other indigenous groups are still cognizant of having been linked by a complex pattern of interdependence; yet now feel themselves under little compunction to maintain a relationship that is clearly becoming less feasible economically. Today the Badagas are taking the lead in finding and internalizing new cultural orientations, orientations which help them to secure a place in the economy and society of the entire Indian nation, though at the expense of their traditional place in Nilgiri life. To put this in another way, we can state that many Badagas now maintain a positive orientation to urban Tamilian culture (particularly as its values are reflected in films), while many Kotas and Kurumbas, and even a few Todas, now treat the Badaga farmers as their positive reference group. The new urban orientation of the Badagas is one that places a positive value on the products of modern technology, the seeking of monetary profit, good education, and in general on behavior that they think would be acceptable in an urban context.

632 In the earliest days of the British régime it was enough for the manegar to be a man of the gentry respected by the Badagas (Grigg 1880: 336). In addition to him, the British appointed a Badaga as accountant or karnam to keep records. Both of these roles — held by Badagas appointed by and responsible to an outside authority — were new to Nilgiri society. So was the idea of electing a council; but a supposedly elected panchayat (the India-wide term for a village council) became the official instrument of local government shortly after the First World War. Its functions today are to provide various facilities, notably the up-keep of roads and paths, water supply, community radio, the maintenance of land records and birth and death registers, and the supplying of information about various aspects of government activity.

The roles of the two key positions in a government panchayat are officially stated to entail the following:

> The head of the village [i.e. manegar] is the representative of Government in the village. He is the village magistrate and head of the village police. He is the collector of the revenue of the village over which he presides, and has also to perform [miscellaneous small] duties...
>
> The karnam, who is entrusted with the keeping of village accounts, is subordinate to the head of the village. He should help and advise the head of the village in every way. He is the clerk of the head of the village in his capacity of village munsif [i.e. manegar] and Magistrate. He has to prepare reports, accounts, statements, etc., which it is necessary to put in writing... (Madras 1958: 1)

Despite the setting-up of village panchayats and the appearance of a state police force in some Nilgiri villages, the organization of celebrations and the settlement of disputes have remained very much in the hands of the traditional headman, his festival committee, and his council. Criminal cases must be reported to the police and are usually handled in a court of law, but civil and petty criminal cases can either be settled by the Badaga council or can go before an official panchayat court. (The distinction between civil and criminal cases is

159 is now up to Ranga to solve the problem."
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The solution which Ranga chooses must be couched in the current anti-
159 legal idiom. If he attempts a solution purely in the traditional idiom or purely in
692 the lawcourt idiom, without taking the alternate system and Jogi's possible manipulation of it into account, then Ranga's chances of ultimate success are slim.

• 177 The point which the case of Jogi and Ranga underlines is that the intro-
671 duction of British procedural law in the 19th Century did not simply offer the Bada-
692 gas an alternative approach for solving conflicts in their community. To any
829 Badaga the procedure in the lawcourt must have seemed capricious: it operated on the assumption that all individuals were equal before the law, and that the proceedings must work directly towards a just decision; whether a man was a Toreya or a member of the gentry was irrelevant to how he would be treated; his past history and his family's reputation were similarly not taken into consideration when
578 the specific case came before the court. To Jogi and Ranga, therefore, as to many
691 of their Badaga contemporaries, the lawcourt is less of a mechanism for dispen-
692 sing justice than a possible means of revenge and a process for overcoming one's opponent (regardless of who is actually in the right). The use of a lawcourt can involve an opponent in crippling legal costs, or the threat of these costs may frighten him into compliance with what is required of him. The threat of going to a lawcourt after one's case has received unfavorable treatment at the hands of the village council can also be used to undermine the authority of the elders on
578 that council and cast aspersions upon the honor of the village. For over a cen-
691 tury the Badagas have had a saying that runs: "If you take a complaint to a Magistrate, it is as if you had put poison into your adversary's food" (Grigg 1880: 226). The belief is still voiced today; but in the interim Badagas have learned how to

place the poison effectively.

Changing Patterns of Marriage and Residence

The recent changes in the Nilgiris that we have described have left the phratry system of the Badagas relatively untouched. There have been several minor but interesting exceptions to this statement, however. During the present century a few Wodeyas, Kapakkas and Adikaris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore -- usually from Mysore City itself. Only with improved transportation and literacy have such marriages become possible; they reflect a move toward closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism in its Mysore home-land.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Badaga Christian girl and a Gauda boy. Earlier in the century such unions would have been unthinkable; now they occur among "progressive" Badagas who have typically experienced a college education. The ancestry of the girl is still expected to trace back to the sib opposite to the boy's.

During the years since 1913 small minorities in nearly all of the Badaga phratries have contracted occasional marriages beyond the boundaries of the Badaga community. The important exception to this minority trend is the Toreya phratry. As we indicated earlier (pp. 67-68) some epidemic catastrophe early in this century produced a great imbalance in the size of the two Toreya sibs. One would expect the Toreyas, under these circumstances, to follow the lead set by other Badagas and arrange marriages with families in Mysore. The Toreyas, however, are relatively conservative, and have chosen to weather out their crisis by allowing men of the smaller sib to practice polygyny whenever they can afford it.

If changing patterns of alliance have altered Badaga social structure very

554 871 farm the land rather than try to use their academic knowledge more profitably elsewhere.

It is these wealthy families who have led the way in introducing the idea 581 583 of brides bringing a handsome dowry to their grooms. The custom is well known to Badagas because the Tamilians and Kanarese typically practice it. Payment of (178) (177) dowry also seems appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, for his high social status promises (871) secure support and enhanced status for the girl. While several hundred Badaga youths have now acquired college degrees, scarcely a dozen girls have. Hence nobody yet expects to be married to a girl whose intellectual training has gone beyond the high-school level. Girls, on the other hand, have a choice between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated husbands. Ability of a girl's father to pay a substantial dowry is one method of ensuring a prestigeful marriage with a college graduate, and so providing her with a husband capable of supporting her adequately in the changing conditions of the modern world. Dowry is not an old Badage custom at all; but it is now fashionable in the context of what the Badagas conceive to be modern India.

We must remember that the traditional marriage preference was for a 582 cross-cousin; whether this was the father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter, a Badaga youth more often than not found her in the very hamlet where his married sister lived. This is still quite common today: either he marries his sister's husband's sister, or else a related neighbor of that husband. 584 The practical problems in finding go-betweens and arranging a marriage alliance can be resolved more easily in this way: the boy has the excuse of visiting his sister while getting a chance to contact and evaluate prospective brides, and the

177 As the wealth of such families increases, and as the possibility of their upward
556 mobility, as modern Indian families rather than as Badaga villagers, becomes a
829 reality, their attitudes toward Nilgiri society and its marriage regulations change. No longer are the requirements of the traditional culture so demanding or so relevant; for these people are now oriented towards a larger South Indian society, a society whose aims and ideals are stated -- albeit in exaggerated form -- in the morality and cultural equipment of modern romantic Indian films.

Religious Change since 1913

178 Four kinds of religious change have affected various sections of the Badaga community during the present century. These changes are not directly related to each other, and need to be considered separately:

1) Bhajan and Kriśna worship have become popular;

2) The Lingayats have developed their previously tenuous ties with Lingayats in Mysore State;

3) A few distinctively Tamilian and Kanarese festivals and rituals have been adopted;

4) A Roman Catholic community has appeared among the Badaga Christians.

These developments will each be discussed in turn.

796 (796) (795) 1) Bhajan and Kriśna worship are new to the Badagas: Kriśna is a Vaiśnavite deity, the Badagas are Śaivites. The performance of bhajan (group hymns) began among Badagas some 20 or 25 years ago; so popular has it now become, nevertheless, that nearly every hamlet has one or more sets of bhajan instruments, and there is a regular -- often a weekly -- performance of the sacred
533 songs. Bhajan songs are devotional hymns, generally in praise of the lord Kriśna;
177 they are played on the instruments of TamilnAd, not of the Nilgiris, and the words

are Tamil, not Badaga. Very many of the Badaga hamlets have built a bhajan house specifically for use during evenings of devotion. Such houses are owned by the hamlet in common and are considered as temples. Inside the bhajan house will be a number of lithographic prints of Kriśna and other gods, and perhaps an image. During the course of a devotional evening, puja will be done to the image or to some of the lithographs. Not everyone in a hamlet is interested in the bhajan form of worship, however; but its popularity is clearly increasing, for it has its strongest following among the village youths. Once a year small donations are offered for the support of the bhajan group by every household in the hamlet where it is performed. An increasing interest in bhajans has been noted elsewhere in South India (cf. Singer 1959: 148-49).

2) Lingayats, too, have developed their ties with the plains. Before this century they knew little about the Vīraśaiva religion in their Mysore home-land. Perhaps once a year a Lingayat guru would wander up into the Nilgiris from Nanjangud (so says Harkness 1832: 137); but whatever he might be able to teach about the Lingayat faith would have to be transmitted entirely by word of mouth. In the 20th Century, on the other hand, the Badaga Lingayats have become literate, and some of them read books on Lingayat philosophy quite avidly. Cheap transportation has also enabled them to make pilgrimages to some of the places that are sacred in Vīraśaiva belief, and to meet well-informed monks and Jangamas in the towns of Mysore State.

One significant fruit of this increased contact has been the occurrence of a number of marriages, during the present century, between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeyas have taken this step. The move for marital links with Mysore has not been met with equanimity by

177 582 588 many Badaga Lingayats, however: indeed, this matter has been the subject of a bitter factional dispute within the Lingayat part of the Badaga community for several decades. Many Badagas feel that, as people from even the lowest castes can be converted to Vīraśaivism (though they seldom are), there is a danger that the girls from Mysore are really descendants of Untouchables converted to the faith. For Badagas this is no easy pill to swallow.

177 796 3) Many Tamilian and Kanarese celebrations are being adopted. An important effect of the greatly improved communications with the plains to the north and east has been the appearance in many Badaga hamlets of non-Badaga religious practices that have undoubtedly been borrowed during the present century.

769 (177) During the past 30 years, for example, a variety of memorial ceremonies have been instituted by Badagas for the anniversaries of deaths within the family; prior to this time there had been no such memorial ceremonies. Some families now do a puja in the house, before a photograph of the deceased. A few people have been buried -- or their ashes buried -- at places other than the village burial grounds, and stones have been erected to mark such spots: here the near relatives may perform an annual puja. Some families invite the more distant relatives to the annual ceremony; others do not do this, but distribute food to the poor. Some do the ceremony at daytime, others at night. Some will go straight to work after the puja is over, others will not work at all on that day. The scale and form of a memorial ceremony varies from family to family, it would seem.

177 796 It is not only new death ceremonies that have recently been introduced, however. Various annual festivals have been adopted, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and support, by many of the hamlets.

177 For the past 40 years Dipāvali, and for the past 20 Kārtige, have been
796 celebrated in many Badaga hamlets. Both are annual festivals adopted from the culture of the Tamilnād plains. Dassara, which has always been the biggest annual celebration in Mysore City, has also been celebrated by Badagas for the past 25 years. All of these festivals are celebrated in a very attenuated form in the Badaga hamlets.
796 Dipāvali, the day on which Kriśna destroyed the demon Narakasura, is given little importance by the Badagas, for they perform no rituals at this time. A minority of the people wear new dresses on this date; but otherwise they do not perform so much as a puja in Kriśna's honor. Kārtige extends over two days in November or December, but only the first of these, dedicated to Śiva, assumes any importance. All the houses carry lights on that day and throughout the following night; but on the second day, dedicated to Viśnu, very few lights remain burning. During the first evening the village priest does a puja in the temple, and most of the villagers attend this ceremony. Dassara, like Kārtige and Dipāvali, is celebrated on a small scale when compared with the main indigenous Badaga festivals (at sowing and harvest-time)
(782) (cf. Karl 1945: 12-20). Although Dassara is universally supposed to last for ten days, it is only on the evening of the ninth that the Badagas do any kind of celebration, and this is a simple puja done to images or lithographs of gods that are kept in the houses. Some Badagas do an additional puja on this occasion to bring blessings upon agricultural implements, and even on school books.

Kārtige is followed by the month of Mārgaṣi (December to January), which
177 is the most inauspicious month in the Dravidian calendar. During the past 30 or 40
788 years, therefore, some Badagas have adopted the Tamilian practice of doing a puja
788 every day of that month. Early each morning a group of men goes along every street
(956) of their hamlet singing bhajan songs about the gods Śiva and Viśnu. Before the daily

788 tour of the singers, the women clean out the houses, place auspicious markings
[356] outside the doorways, and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the
(796) bhajan group has passed by. Many hamlets have adopted this practice. They conclude
the unlucky month by holding a big communal feast attended by the entire hamlet.

In summary, whether we consider the organization of Kārtige, Mārgaṭi,
177 Dipāvali or Dassara, we find that the borrowed festival is not celebrated by the
184 entire Badaga population, there is some local variation in the way in which it is cele-
796 brated, those who do celebrate the festival still show much less enthusiasm for it
than for native Badaga festivals; and finally, Badagas show much less enthusiasm for
these festivals than do the Tamilians and Mysoreans now living in the Nilgiris.

4) Since 1913 important developments have occurred in
798 the Badaga Christian community. From the earliest years of the present
[564] century, according to the missionary reports, the Christian community has been
recognized by the Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior
to Kotas, and rigid patterns for interaction between the Christians and Hindus have
177 been formalized. During the period 1913-1947 the Hindu Badagas, like the Christians
648 before them, became increasingly dependent on the economy and the labor market
798 which was ultimately controlled by the British. As a result of this the former acts
of violence toward Badaga Christians ceased: as many Hindu Badagas now found it
desirable to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British, they could not
simultaneously be openly antagonistic toward the religion of the British.

After the Christians had become a separate social group, Roman Catholic
186 priests became active -- mainly in converting Protestant Badagas -- and thereby
578 split the Christians into two culturally very similar but structurally opposed groups,
797 each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic attitude not only toward the other
798

The New Factions

578 In the year 1913 there may have been a number of intra-village or intra-hamlet factions of which no record remains; family feuds were undoubtedly common; but there were only two factional disputes of Nilgiri-wide scope -- the one separating Hindus from Christians, and the one about the relative superiority of Wodeyas and Haruvas. During the present century these two divisions have remained, but others have been added to them.

578 615 764 The Wodeya/Haruva dispute was intensified by another conflict: in 1928 the rift between these two factions was deepened by a further dispute that quickly assumed all-Nilgiri proportions (Benbow 1928: 11, 13). This one concerned the question of whether it was a dignified practice to dance around a corpse to Kota music during a Badaga funeral. The new dispute showed exactly the same division of support as in the preceding dispute: those who supported the Haruva claim to superiority wanted to continue the use of Kota music at funerals; those opposed to the Haruva faction were equally opposed to the Kota-music faction. This new-found opposition for what had always been regarded as an essential element in the funeral ceremony arose indirectly from the impact of Tamilian culture and a major change in the cultural orientations of Badagas: they now felt that it was an indignity to the corpse to dance around it in the village, since dancing was now held (by the majority faction) to be an expression of joy that would clearly be inappropriate in this situation. Those who wanted to continue the dancing -- a conservative minority -- stressed that it was an integral and time-honored element in Badaga culture, and to discontinue it would be to dishonor and jeopardize the deceased by performing an incomplete funeral. Most Badagas today no longer invite Kotas to play either at funerals or at weddings and festivals, and most of their other traditional economic connections with the Kotas

(177) (184) 178 648

578 coloring, for those opposed to Brahmins in general, and ipso facto were in support
615 of the Justice Party.
665 Before the Kota-music factions and the political dispute arose, another fac-
tional division had split all of the Lingayat groups but did not involve other Badagas
177 at all. Some of the Wodeyas, Kapakkas and Adikaris -- as we mentioned earlier in
582 this chapter (p. 123) -- started a practice of arranging marriages with Kanarese
(518) Lingayat girls who live in the area which had presumably been the Badaga home-land
many centuries ago. The first such marriage occurred around the year 1890, the
practice is still not common among Badaga Lingayats, and the marriage of Lingayat
(581) Badaga girls to Lingayat men in Mysore is extremely rare. My investigation showed
that the families who preferred marriage with Mysore people felt that it might raise
their prestige to marry girls from the city of Mysore and its umland, particularly
because this was an area with many monasteries and an orthodox interpretation of
(771) Virašaivism. Most of these people could also cite that the lord Basava himself
taught that all men and women are equal, and that caste distinctions and endogamy
are social evils, not divine prescripts. The Badaga Lingayats who have opposed the
578 idea of marrying girls from Mysore complain that, because Lingayat philosophy
798 countenances conversion from the lower classes, the Kanarese girl one marries
(582) may come from a family originally belonging to a very inferior caste, such as the
washermen or leather-workers. Once they have become Lingayats there is no sure
means of discovering what their real background has been. This factional split was
marked by more violence than most: its culmination came probably in a battle of a
thousand or more Lingayat men armed with sticks and rocks, which occurred at one
village in 1945. For many years the two factions had not intermarried or interdined;
and after this fight they were not allowed to celebrate festivals in that particular

S: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Socio-Cultural Changes

121 We are now at the point where the nature of change among Badagas needs to be described in broader outline, so that it may be compared with the patterns of change documented in other parts of India. As in the preceding chapters, we shall confine our interest to changes which have occurred since 1913.

177 The cultural adjustments that Badagas have made to a changing Indian economy have relied heavily on their adoption and adaptation of alien customs and techniques. Social changes among the Badagas have been similar to changes elsewhere in India, but have at the same time been worked out independently by the Badagas to suit their own peculiar situation.

177 178 (241) Agricultural change during recent decades occurred after Badagas, no longer permitted to clear new land in the jungles, opted to reap the rich fruits of a cash market in need of fresh vegetables, and later of tea and coffee. The community was never coerced into making this important change; but because the people did choose to enter this new kind of economic relationship with non-Badagas, they (242) became involved in a long string of connected cultural changes. To succeed in growing a cash crop -- and success was imperative if people were not to starve -- the Badagas were obliged to learn new ideas about seed fertility, chemical fertilizers, terracing, and field lay-out; they had to adopt new types of tool, and discard

the traditional ox-drawn plow (Ranga 1934: 11); and as a result of these technological changes Badagas had to develop new kinds of laboring patterns, involving contractors and non-Badaga workers. A whole nexus of new social relationships emerged: foodstuffs had to be bought in shops, cash had to be borrowed wherever it might be had, agents and middlemen had to be sought out and dealt with, lowland laborers had to be employed, European planters and government farming advisers had to be consulted, educated opinion had to be sought out.

In the early years of this century a new way of life was being developed by the Badaga farmers. It was a way of life in which they could readily perceive that certain elements from the traditional culture were no longer practicable. The close and important tie with the Kotas was a case in point: Badagas often did not grow the millet crops they were customarily expected to give to the Kotas, and the rising grain prices led to a situation where traditional Kota products could be obtained much more cheaply by purchase in a bazaar. Finally, around the year 1928, relations with the Kotas were formally broken off by a majority of Badagas.

The initial change in agricultural practices led to other kinds of sociocultural change, too. These stemmed primarily from the fact that the Badagas were successful in their new ventures, and as a consequence were making cash profits on a scale never previously possible. New avenues for spending opened up, and new consumer goods appeared in the Badaga hamlets. Those who could find more land to buy did so: this is a familiar theme among the nouveaux riches of rural India (cf. Epstein 1962: 85 ff.). But not very much land has changed hands in this century, and few new areas have been opened up for farming recently. Profits have therefore necessarily been invested in other ways: large new houses have been built, watches, radios and other consumer goods have been brought into the

178 community, and the education of one's sons have become new indicators of social
(454) status and agricultural success.
(554)

The easier access to wealth and higher education in the decades since 1913
(212) has brought further socio-cultural changes to the Badagas. For an agricultural community in India they have an unusually high rate of literacy (77.8% of males, 51.8% of females in 1963) and of knowledge about the nation, the government and international affairs. Much of this information is no more than conversation material; but it sometimes becomes relevant when unusual decisions have to be taken, or new regulations dealt with: how to get a loan for terracing fields, or where to go for a scholarship,
(184) for example. University education has led to the appearance of a new urban class of Badagas, who may still live in the natal village, but who maintain offices in the towns where they practice as doctors, lawyers or businessmen. A few Badagas are prominent in state and national politics, too. A random sample of 301 males in 1963 in-
(871) cluded 9.6% who had attended college.

These economic changes have taken place against a backdrop of steadily
489 improving communications media. All of the more populous villages are linked with
(178) the towns by regular bus services. There has been a railway service to the plains since the beginning of the century. Many of the middlemen who sell fertilizers or buy potatoes have their own trucks. A few of the more successful tea-growers
• 177 possess cars or jeeps as well. Most Badagas now spend one day a week in the nearest market town, where they not only buy provisions but also talk to acquaintances in the tea-shops, pick up the latest gossip, and see a Tamil film. Radio is used mainly as a channel for hearing light music, and is not so important as the films in introducing new, primarily urban, values and wants to the Badagas. It is probably no exaggeration to say that today every Badaga hamlet has easy access to

information about occupations and attitudes in urban centers of Madras State, either through seeing films or through talking with friends or relatives who actually work in towns, whether as "professional" men or as clerks.

During the present century Badagas have made much use of the official magistrate's court, and have not relied entirely on their own traditional councils. Several kinds of cultural change have contributed to this shift in emphasis: many men now know Badaga advocates or legal clerks, bus transportation to the court is quick and easy, since men stopped plowing and employed laborers their work-load has been lighter, and the profits from commercial farming often permit the villagers to engage in costly litigation.

We have seen that, apart from a small number of marriages between Badagas and people in Mysore, Badaga social structure has altered very little during this century. The few Kanarese marriages have undoubtedly stretched the definition of where the boundaries of the various endogamous units should lie; but this has not so far resulted in a loss of Badaga "identity", or a strong trend toward more and easier marriage alliances with people in Mysore. Nevertheless, although these patterns of alliance have changed very little during the present century, there has been a profound impact from changing criteria in the arrangement of marriages. The demand for dowry as well as the traditional bonnu ("bride-price") has marked a significant change in the attitudes of the wealthier and -- in their own view -- more progressive families. The practice of paying dowry is easily traceable to the lowland Tamilians and Kanarese; the ability to pay it stems from the new-found wealth of some Badagas; the need to pay it points to new criteria of prestige and an increased concern with establishing a daughter as a worthy and permanent member of an affluent family well able to take care of her.

The closer cultural ties with the plains, that are reflected in the adoption of the dowry custom, are strongly evidenced also in recent religious changes. The Lingayats have developed closer ties with their gurus and maths (or monasteries) — the organized "church" of Vīraśaivism — in Mysore State. Many Badagas have begun to observe ceremonies, such as Dīpāvali, which until 30 or 40 years ago were associated only with Tamilians and Kanarese. Today most Badaga villages have regular devotional evenings at which bhajans are sung (in Tamil) and Kṛiṣṇa is worshipped. Another development, unrelated to these, has been the appearance of a Roman Catholic community among the Christians.

Finally in this summary we must take note of the new factions that have emerged since the early years of this century. Most important was the deepening of the cleavage between those supporting Wodeya superiority and those who supported the Haruva claim: this occurred in about 1928 when the former faction threw off its traditional ties with the Kotas, ostensibly because they did not want Kota music performed at funerals, while the smaller pro-Haruva faction has continued its relationship with the Kotas insofar as this is still economically feasible.

The only other factional division that has assumed Nilgiri-wide proportions was one that lasted for a quarter-century prior to Independence, and which separated Justice Party supporters from National Congress supporters. All other conflicts have been relevant only to certain sections of the Badaga community. One divided the Lingayats into two factions, those approving marriages with Kanarese Lingayats and those opposed to the practice. Another cleavage split the Protestant Christians, over the question of whether a priest should wear shoes in the church. Christians were also involved in an unusual three-way dispute in one hamlet, where converts from the Gauda, the Beda and the Kumbara phratry each claimed higher social

121 at Berhampur. Locks come from Aligarh..." (Bailey 1958: 229). The list contin-
(178) ues; and it is one we might as readily draw up for any Badaga hamlet. Both in the Kondmals and in the Nilgiris agriculturists now purchase goods which previously would have been made locally, or otherwise would not have been known. Both communities were "self-contained in the sense that all goods and services...could be supplied from the locality, by barter and not by money..." (Bailey 1958: 230). Bailey speaks of a "traders' frontier" as the process by which the cash economy first
(177) reached the Oriya villages. The concept is equally applicable to the Badaga hamlets, although they were able to develop contacts with local towns and factories, whereas neither town nor factory existed in the Kondmal Hills. As government and trade pushed up into the Kondmals in the mid-19th Century, Oriya villages lay along the lines of communication, and Bisipara became a local center of administration. Oriyas thus became an important link between the Kond tribesmen and the agents of government and trade, especially as it was the Oriyas who spoke the language of
(177) the plains whence the traders had come. Badagas probably fulfilled a similar role
(648) in mediation between the British and the tribal peoples; but for them it was never an important or continuing role.

Beyond this point the parallel between the Nilgiris and the Kondmals is not so close. Today the Oriyas are still concerned largely with the subsistence crop of rice. Konds divide their labor between the rice-fields and the turmeric plots which they cultivate for cash. Changes have come to the Konds because they are involved in the cash economy; but their situation is different from that of the Badagas. Turmeric, like tea or potatoes, needs an altogether new agricultural technique. The Konds succeeded in learning this; but they did not become affluent to the degree that the Badagas have become: the returns from turmeric are too small.

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

121 Konds and Oriyas still produce a subsistence crop, rice, whereas the great majority of Badagas do not.

Bailey makes the point that it is not the cash crop, turmeric, but wind-fall profits from trading that have been responsible for the most significant of recent changes (1958: 239). "...the more spectacular sources of wealth in the new economy--the drink-trade, merchant-shopkeeping, and trading in hides--are concentrated in the hands of a few persons..." (Bailey 1958: 238). He goes on to say that, "The mercantile economy has impinged on the system of agriculture, because those who profited as merchants, traders and earners of salaries invested their money in land" (Bailey 1958: 239).

(178) If we compare this situation with the Nilgiris we will find that the most important cash crops, tea, coffee and potatoes, are undoubtedly much more responsible than "windfall profits" for change in the Badaga villages. Government planning (177) and urban, non-Badaga entrepreneurs have also played an important part. Also in contrast with the Kondmal Hills is the fact that few merchants--and these people are almost by definition immigrants from the plains--have been able to purchase land in Badaga hamlets.

The comparison between the Kondmals and the Nilgiris has, if anything, underlined our broad conclusions from comparing Badagas with Kanarese villagers: people in the Nilgiris, Mysore, Orissa, and indeed over much of India, have in recent decades made a transition from subsistence agriculture to fuller participation in a cash economy. Our comparison here shows that this kind of economic and social change takes many local forms, for it varies with the nature of the social organization, the means of earning cash, the role of the state government in local affairs, the ecological setting and the economic potentials of the community under study.

121 This, the same random sample cited elsewhere in the present study, suggests that
212 some 75% of the male population has some personal acquaintance with printed news media; although the regularity of reading varies greatly. The women showed much lower frequencies of reading: in a random sample of 119 Badaga females 49.6% were illiterate, and another 22.7% claimed never to read anything.

121 There is no doubt that the Badagas are familiar with the urban-industrial
• [111] values of modern India: they participate in all of the traditional village-urban connections described by Opler; and they also make use of the modern communications media to such an extent that a real impact has been felt by the younger Badagas and is reflected in their changed values and personal wants.

Lambert (1962: 123) agrees with Opler that there is a series of traditional links between the village and the town in North India; he does not mention the modern links that we have noted in the Nilgiris. It is undoubtedly true that many Indian villagers approach a big city with some trepidation, and carry to it -- even if they are settling there -- as much of their traditional family organization and religious values as is feasible. But it is not correct, at least in the case of the Nilgiris, to stress the cultural barries between villages and towns to the point where a negligible level of communications is implied: villagers can and do learn the directions of cultural change from the towns, and adopt some urban values and practices in their marketing, education, entertainment, transportation and financing. Communication between town and village in the Nilgiris has been an important element in the cultural changes of this century (even if the radio or newspaper has acted as intermediary in some instances). One reason why this is perhaps more true of the Nilgiris than of the parts of Northern India referred to by Lambert, is that the Nilgiri towns are not large. Ootacamund, with a population of 50,140 (in 1961), is still small enough

121 for visiting villagers to meet many acquaintances when they go there. The Census of India, 1961 shows comparatively little difference between the occupational structure of urban areas and rural areas in the Nilgiris:

Male Occupations in the Nilgiris, 1961

		Urban areas	Rural areas
I	Cultivating own or rented land	2.9%	13.8%
II	Agricultural laborer	2.2	7.3
III	Forestry or livestock	13.2	14.7
IV	Cottage industries	0.6	0.4
V	Manufacturing	5.8	2.1
VI	Construction	1.5	0.9
VII	Trade and business	5.5	1.4
VIII	Transport and communications	2.6	0.7
IX	Teaching and "professions"	20.0	15.6
X	Non-workers, students	43.7	43.1
		(N=94,546)	(N=119,287)

(Source -- India 1962: 82-85, 132-35)

The profiles for occupations in urban and rural populations of the District (all communities, including Badagas) are seen to be strikingly similar, the main variation being in the agricultural sector. The occupational pattern of the rural population shows 35.8% of males in primary production (categories I-III), as compared with only 18.3% of the urban population.

The overall similarity in the two occupation profiles suggests that the urban setting is not too strange or complex for the Badaga villager to comprehend. Many 121 of the weekly visitors to the bazaar have some acquaintances who can be found there; and in their own hamlets there are perhaps a few ex-students or former petty officials who are quite familiar with the ways of townsfolk. It is no longer uncommon for a few villagers in all settlements within four or five miles of a town to go there every day for work and return home at night. The extensions of a Badaga village are more than those envisioned in Northern India by Opler (1956: 5-10), or for that

matter by Lambert (1962).

In another study by Lambert, this one of factory-workers in Poona (1963), he discusses the types of social change that accompany the "modernization" process. A comparable situation to that of these urban workers can already be seen in the "modernization" of the Badagas: Badagas are finding social mobility much easier and much more rapid than it was half a century ago; more complex divisions of labor are emerging with the appearance of labor contractors and college graduates among the ranks of the Badagas; people are becoming cognizant that their lot can be changed with effort as well as good luck. This last point can even be supported with some statistical evidence: in a sample of 420 Badagas (including 119 females), the following responses were given to the question, "Does success in life depend mainly on luck?" --

Yes, mainly on luck	47.4%
Both on luck and hard work	4.3
No, only on hard work	46.4
No, only on God's will	0.2
(Not ascertained)	1.7

("Luck", or "good fortune", was thought to be the factor which caused uncontrollable circumstances to act in favor of the individual. The English word luck or lakku is sometimes used in Badaga speech.)

Females stressed luck much more than hard work (61.3% favored luck, 31.9% hard work), whereas males showed an opposite bias (41.9% favored luck, while 52.2% stressed hard work). It is thus true of the Badagas that about half of them recognize the value of hard work (perhaps helped along by luck) in making a success out of their lives. The concept of success is not a new preoccupation in their economic activities; the concept of depending primarily upon one's own effort for it probably is new, however.

615 myth which equates them with Kanarese Brahmins in the Badaga home-land to the north. But the Haruvas are not accepted as Brahmins by any other Brahmin whom they now meet; they have no ceremony for investiture of the thread; no śraddha is performed for their dead; they do not know Sanskrit, and until quite recently were all 518 illiterate. Their adoption of the Brahminic model has not gone unopposed. The great 615 majority of Badagas are meat-eating Gaudas, whose on-going tradition is itself a guiding model for their behavior. Gaudas have never claimed to be Brahmins, and they disapprove of the "snobbish" attitude of the Haruvas who press this claim. Haruvas are thus caught, as it were, between two different models, the Brahminic one and the dominant Gauda one. And the Haruvas are outnumbered heavily by what is, amongst the Badagas, a large phratry that occupies the position of a "dominant caste" in several ways. Haruvas occupy a position not unlike that of Toreyas, from the point of view of the Gaudas. Both are said to be "employed" by the Gaudas as village-servants; both usually live as minorities in hamlets that are preponderantly Gauda; and both were traditionally dependent upon the good-will of their Gauda neighbors. In such hamlets Gaudas own most of the land and houses, control the festivals and the dispensation of justice, and permit no one but a Gauda to become the headman. Such a control very much tempers the Brahminic aspirations of the Haruvas; as might be expected, therefore, these aspirations find their fullest expression only in the four hamlets which are inhabited exclusively by Haruvas. Gaudas, instead of adopting the • 177 Brahminic model, are now tending to adopt the modern, metropolitan model that they 615 see in exaggerated form in some films, and which they find helps them to understand the Tamilian traders and officials with whom they have so often to deal.

12 To summarize the conclusions expressed in this chapter: (1) the towns of the Nilgiris have acted as catalysts and centers of resources for the socio-cultural

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60

Ku
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433

Kurumbas on southern Nilgiri slopes vary their house plans and do not construct any distinctive temples. Their economy in the early 1800s was very similar to the Irula's economy.

B
I
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Ku
• 177
[175]

After 1800 the English generated changes through their economic activities, legal actions, and introduction of exotic plants. As the English established and enlarged plantations, more Badagas, Irulas, and Kurumbas went to work on them. Increased job opportunities, not associated with plantations, were mainly taken advantage of by the Badagas. Legal actions between 1874 and 1884 ended Badaga and Kota poppy cultivation, drastically reduced Irula and Kurumba gathering and hunting, and ended shifting agriculture on unowned land. In this century upper Nilgiri Badagas and Kotas abandoned plows and became commercial potato farmers. Introduced plants became the garden plants of all agriculturists.

I
Ko
Ku
T
657

The post-1947 non-English Madras Government has built houses for Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas, constructed or improved roads, and partially succeeded in rejuvenating Kota trades.

(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

131 133 the northwest and into a broad valley called the Mysore Ditch to the north. The eastern slopes of the Nilgiri massif rise above the Central Plain of peninsular India, and the western slopes rise above Malabar plains. The Wynaad Plateau, partially bordered by Western Ghats mountains, lies above the Malabar plains and emerges with the Mysore Plateau to the northeast. The Nilgiri District is bordered by Mysore and Kerala states, and the general region wherein the District lies has long been a contact zone where Kannada-speaking, Malayalam-speaking, and Tamil-speaking southern Indians have met and, on occasion, fought. Despite past wars, nominal control by different rulers, and the fact that the Nilgiri region is near some of the Malabarian ports associated with earliest European contacts, the region had remained relatively isolated until Englishmen started to settle on the Nilgiri massif in the early 1820s.

•177 (131)

The English first used the massif as a health resort, but they later established many coffee and tea plantations in the Nilgiri District. The District is now the leading tea growing region and the fifth ranking coffee growing region in southern India (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 390). Ootacamund, in the middle of the Nilgiri massif, grew into the central administrative and resort city with over 50,000 people in 1961. The next two cities in size are Coonoor (over 30,000) to the southeast and Kotagiri (over 15,000) to the east of Ootacamund. Both are early resort centers which eventually also served the needs of the coffee and tea industries. Smaller Gudalur (over 8,000), in the northwestern portion of the District, is the administrative center for the Nilgiri Wynaad and caters to local

177 631

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AW50 Badaga AW50
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60

T 234 (360) (434) (178)

sacred buffaloes is processed in several grades of dairy-temples located within hamlets and dairy-temple centers some distance away. Clarified butter (ghee), the end product of milk processing, is sold to earn income for families and dairy-temple priests. Nowadays, a few Todas are turning to agriculture.

I Ku- 361 433

While Irulas inhabit hamlets, Kurumbas occupy hamlets, semi-nucleated communities, and dispersed houses. In the past both groups depended upon garden produce and shifting slash-burn agriculture alternated with gathering, hunting, and trapping activities. Besides providing music and selling or bartering gathered products and artifacts, the Kurumbas have also obtained income from their neighbors by acting as doctors, sorcerers, and performers of agricultural ritual to ensure abundant harvests from Badaga crops. Irulas obtain additional income by supplying gathered products and artifacts to neighbors. Certain Irula families obtain fees for rituals performed by male members who are priests.

I Ku 433 434 463

B Ko 241 [177]

Badagas and Kotas living in hamlets or villages on the upper Nilgiris maintain kitchen gardens near their homes. They once used plows in shifting slash-burn agriculture. In this century they stopped using plows and turned increasingly from cultivation of millets to commercial potato production. After Badagas and Kotas were forced to use only assigned lands and shifting slash-burn agriculture became an impossibility, they cultivated plots alternately on their own holdings. However, the tendency now is toward intensive, sustained land utilization aided by applications of chemical fertilizers and insecticides. Kotas have varied from Badagas in being professional

B Ko (242)

B Ko 463

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

B Ko 463 B [77] B Ko 231 [648] B Ko 184 241 361 B [64]

basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, hide curers, potters, and musicians. Badagas worked as laborers when Englishmen started living on the Nilgiris, but have increasingly obtained clerical and professional employment. Badagas and Kotas use seasonal livestock centers to graze herds of buffaloes and cattle on the temperate grasslands. The Badagas have established a sacred buffalo herd and dairy-temple at Bergani (Figure 1). Through the cooperation of employed Kasuvas, they also manage to keep buffaloes and cattle in the Mysore Ditch (Figure 2).

Excluding some Badagas dwelling in dispersed houses, Badagas and Kotas in the Nilgiri Wynaad occupy hamlets. Both depend upon rice grown in wet fields. There are assorted gardens near their houses, and the Badagas grow millets on upland dry fields. As on the upper Nilgiris, Kotas are differentiated from the Badagas by their trades. Some Badagas labor on nearby plantations.

2. The Philosophic Base

B 121

The premise. The interpretive approach employed in following chapters is based on the premise that members of a small culture who occupy a similar environment will repeatedly adjust and utilize the landscape in a set pattern, or in set patterns, conforming to their needs and technological capacities. Because the members are conformists, they build similar occupance forms, arrange the forms in the same fashion, and use the landscape about their dwellings according to the economy related to their culture. Adjustments to environments by members of many small cultures, therefore, result in typically

234 (361) centers called hundis, which consist of temporarily occupied huts and cattle-pens. The hundis, located on western upper Nilgiri grasslands, are inhabited while buffaloes and cattle are grazed near them in the (221) dry season (Figure 2). The herds are brought westward in February or March and are herded eastward in May or June. During the days of the (177) British Raj and before large grassland tracts had been planted with acacia or eucalyptus trees, there were more hundis than at present. A listing of former hundis known to Ithalar and Manjanad Badagas, along with abandoned hundi sites seen during fieldword, testify to this fact.

234 656 All persons using hundis must obtain grazing permits from the Madras Forest Department in Ootacamund. A basic fee of 2.50 rupees and an additional charge of 50 nayapice (100 nayapice equal one rupee) per buffalo and 25 nayapice per cattle head is paid for a three-month permit. Badagas using grasslands must follow all the Madras Forest Department and Nilgiri Game Association regulations. Because the (177) Madras Forest Department desires to end, slowly and tactfully, the use of hundis, opportunities are pressed when Badagas living in them are found trespassing the law. Grazing permits may then be revoked, but a series of fines will also discourage Badagas from using the western grasslands.

234 361 The occupance pattern at each hundi is basically the same, but there is no distinct hut type associated with hundis. In establishing Bhavani Hundi, used in 1963, Badagas took full advantage of terrain (Figure 11). The hundi is located in an area with more grassland than shola, where no trees have been planted yet (Plate III, C). The cattle-pen is bound by steep slopes down to two streams, a piled stone

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 67]

NOTES

[1]The trend had started by 1905 (Rivers 1906: 23-24).

[2]A Toda green funeral ends with the deceased's cremation. Relics of the deceased, such as hair and portions of the skull, are kept for the second dry funeral. Ritual performed over the relics in a dry funeral resembles ritual used in the green funeral, and the relics are finally burned in an azaram. Kotas also have green and dry funerals. In contrast to Todas, the dry funeral honors all who have died during a year. Thus, on a set date, funeral ritual is performed over the relics of Kota community members who have died since the last dry funeral.

[3]For convenience, the terms used by Rivers (1906) are adhered to in this section pertaining to Todas. For information regarding ritual and uses of the two fireplaces in the Mŏdr dairy-temple, see Rivers 1906: 91-92.

[4]Wrestling with bulls on pastoral tracts in the sixth century A.D. is described in the Tamilian work, Mullaikkali. The sporting bulls varied from the wild gaur, or a close relative, to a fully domesticated bull with white spots on brown skin. That the sport was dangerous is emphasized by the fact that eventually the bulls' horns became "red with blood and had guts winding around them." As "the son of the buffalo-herd" is also mentioned, the same people were probably herding buffaloes (Iyengar 1929: 578-580).

[5]The Ras Phasé Pardi tribesmen of Maharashtra still employ cattle and cloth screens to approach game (Kosambi 1967: 104).

[6]This data was obtained from Kwodron, Seventh Day Adventist Mission, Coonoor, 1965.

[7]Murray B. Emeneau has written about Christian Todas who turned to agriculture (Emeneau 1939: 93-106). For information concerning agriculture near Toda hamlets, the writer is indebted to Anthony Walker.

[8]In 1865 a hunter described a fight to the finish between a gaur and tiger near a camp located by the small Upper Bhavani Stream on the upper Nilgiris. The hunter's friend shot two gaurs near the fight location (Old Shekarry 1865: 241, 252-257).

[9]The tentative period is based upon an approximate period established through archaeological work conducted by Sir Mortimer Wheeler and artifactual finds (Wheeler 1959: 162-163).

439 (651) to pay the government tax (presumably land revenue). Badagas slowly adopted "English" vegetables, the term commonly applied to vegetables introduced by the English (Table III). By 1865 the Badagas were growing potatoes, which were to become their main commercial crop (Markham 1862: 367; Metz 1864: 153-154).

241 911 Major changes in crop emphasis from the late 1800s to the present are best revealed by statistics resulting mainly from Badaga cultivation. In 1875 there were 15,728 acres of Italian millet, 4,662 acres of little millet, 3,761 acres of barley, 3,430 acres of finger millet, 3,199 acres of wheat, only 754 acres of potatoes, 355 acres of mustard, 169 acres of vegetables, 144 acres of fenugreek, 67 acres of horse gram (Dolichos biflorus L.), and 66 acres of poppies grown on the Nilgiris (Grigg et al. 1880: xii). In 1895 Italian millet was still the leading crop, but potato acreage had risen to 2,032 acres. Poppies outlawed by the 1878 Opium Act were no longer grown (Benson 1895: 432-433). Little millet had become the most cultivated cereal in 1905, and finger millet was growing in importance (Francis 1908: 164). Demands for potatoes during World War I helped to convert Badaga agriculture from a subsistence stage with some commercial crop production to a commercial farming stage. In 1914 there were about 4,000 acres with potatoes on the Nilgiris, but by 1920 potato acreage had doubled (Rao and Azariah 1953: 69). Before 1925 finger and little millets became the two important cereal crops, and remained the leading cereals from that time (Wood 1927: 210-223). Potato acreage has continually increased: by 1938 there were 12,000 acres, by 1950 almost 17,000 acres, and in 1960-61 there was a total

241 (656) (177) (311) (310)

174 224 from Ketti took the shredded remnant of a hunting net and two spears to a point upon the mountainside behind Ketti. While two men held up the net remnant, two with spears charged at it. Then all sat in a circle and sang folk songs before returning the equipment to the Hirodaya temple. Using these examples, it seems likely that the Badagas once hunted with nets and spears. Now they use muzzle-loaders, 411 (224) (241) shotguns, and rifles. Although a few go hunting, most guns are employed in the protection of crops from such animals as black-naped hares (Lepus nigricollis F. Cuv.), pigs, and porcupines.

175 177 464 Other occupations. From the time Englishmen started to settle on the Nilgiris, outside employment became available. Both poor and wealthier Badagas took advantage of ever-increasing job opportunities. By 1829 many poorer Badagas were performing all types of labor (Hough 1829: 96). In 1860 a few were working on coffee plantations, but by 463 1868 many males were working as artisans or laborers on European-owned plantations (Markham 1862: 376; Shortt 1868: 58). There were Badaga clerks, cordite factory workers, building and road contractors, forest guards, gardeners, and school teachers by 1909, and before 1934 wage earning became the main means of livelihood for many Badagas (Thurston 1909, 1: 63; Ranga 1934: 11). Badagas are presently employed in the Government of India Cordite Factory, the Needle Industries (India) Ltd., and the Hindustan Photo Films Manufacturing Company in (871) the Nilgiris. Some Badagas have a high school education, and a few are university graduates. As a result, there are Badaga clerks and professionals employed in private industries, or in positions with the

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50 ●
Kota AW55

CHAPTER VI

NILGIRI WYNAAD BADAGAS AND KOTAS

B 175 166 361 182 [184] B [133] B [132] B [177] B [171] Ko 241 184

The few scattered Badaga communities in the Nilgiri Wynaad have resulted from slow and continuing Badaga colonization which may extend back to a pre-1800 date. The ancestors of Kotas occupying a single hamlet probably came to serve the Todas who once lived in the Wynaad. Although Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas and upper Nilgiri Badagas are culturally affiliated, the occupance patterns related to them vary (Table IV). Several factors are responsible for the variations: Because the Wynaad is covered by a plateau with rolling hills and occasional ranges, topographic conditions are ideal for growing wet rice in broad valleys and dry field crops on hills. The climate is warm enough to permit the growth of wet rice, but too dry for two rice crops to be harvested annually from a single field. Dry seasonal conditions, reflected by estivating trees, also lead to the growth of only one dry field crop per year. Combined with the physical influences are the Malaborian, Malayalee cultural influences. Thus, Badaga house construction, employment of Paniya laborers, garden maintenance, and manner of wet rice cultivation with aid of implements drawn by buffaloes follow patterns associated with their neighbors. Kalac Kotas at Gudalur, who live in atypical houses and have lost their dry fields, continue to cultivate wet rice in the same manner as the Badagas. Nilgiri Wynaad Kota trades are similar to those of upper Nilgiri Kotas.

342 an entranceway may be placed on either its left or right side. In addition to the front door, a rear or side door is also included. A (231) chicken coop is sometimes built on the veranda, and a large grain basket, quern, firewood, or other objects may be stored there. In (353) house interiors, through placement of storage baskets or dividing wall construction, a left kitchen side may be visibly differentiated from the right living area and sleeping side. If there is no visible reminder, occupants simple remember that such a division exists. As (352) (513) there is no sleeping platform, household members sleep on mats spread over the floor each night. The kitchen fireplace is located next to (354) (353) the center of the left wall, and there is sometimes a large circular drying basket suspended over it. An upper storage platform extending over the warmer kitchen side is reached by a ladder.

346 A Nilgiri Wynaad Badaga temple may outwardly be constructed somewhat like a house (Figure 23). The Devala temple has no inner or outer posts, so squared wooden rafters are attached to wall plates and (178) an emplaced ridgepiece. The hipped roof is tiled. Inside the temple there are two large stone bulls (Nanthis) and an altar next to the center of the rear wall. Temples of a distinctive type serving as worship centers to Badagas and their neighbors have square bases, grilled woodwork in side walls, and pyramidal roofs plated with copper (178) sheets (Plate XII, C). In each temple's interior there is a walled room holding a deity's image, a ceremonial knife, and other ritualistic paraphernalia. Smaller shrines with similar appearance (Plate XII, D) (177) have platforms in their central interiors. The sacred structures with pyramidal roofs are identified with so-called Chinese temples in

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

346 Malabar, and may in reality reflect past cultural influences of the
m Chinese who once maintained trade contacts with Malabar.

000 Paniyas and Badagas. A glimpse of Nilgiri Wynaad gold mining in the early 1800s appears in a letter written by Nicholson (1833: 90). The Nilambur raja then employed Chetties on a concession basis to superintend slaves working in mines. The slaves are not identified, but were almost certainly Paniyas. If these slaves did not produce the expected daily allotment, they were flogged and their limbs were crushed in a device which might with repeated use disable a person for life. When planters started to settle in the Wynaad during the 1850s, Paniya serfs were included with the land purchased by the Englishmen (Thurston 1909, 6: 58). Because the English freed the Paniyas, work on plantations supplied an alternative to serfdom from then on. However, in the 1930s Ranga found that many Paniyas remained serfs working mainly for Chetties, but some Paniya families were attached to Badaga families. Owners who inherited Paniya families were responsible for their support and the marriage of each family member. They had to consent to a Paniya marriage and paid the marriage expenses. In the harvest season especially, Paniyas were commonly rented out. In return for services rendered, Paniyas received daily meals and frequent issues of rice. Shortly before harvest, most owners permitted the members of each Paniya family to select a small plot with ripened grain. The family members then harvested the grain for their own consumption. When a Paniya family built a new home, the materials were supplied by the owner, who also provided food during the course

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

121 to stay alive. In the same period the upper Nilgiri Badagas and Kotas lived mainly on produce from kitchen gardens and millets from dry fields, but were also alike in that they produced condiments and opium for barter or sale. Furthermore, their villages and even their houses were apparently similar. By following the practices of their neighbors, both Badagas and Kotas in the Nilgiri Wynaad turned to wet rice cultivation in valleys, dry field cultivation on adjacent slopes, and the maintenance of multilayer gardens.

On the upper Nilgiris a few similarities exist among members of different ethnic groups whose economic activities are not similar, but who occupy the same general environment. Thus, the functional arrangement of features within Badaga, Kota, and Toda dwellings are sufficiently alike to indicate the borrowing of ideas. Both the limited practice of horizontal transhumance by Badagas and Todas, and the Badaga dairy-temple center at Bergani, with accompanying herd of sacred buffaloes, indicate borrowing from Todas. A former Kota barrel-vaulted temple resembled a Toda barrel-vaulted structure. Eventually, certain ideas were borrowed and applied by members of all five ethnic groups. Thus, some members of all ethnic groups live in either hamlets or villages, and some live in side-gabled houses built next to each other.

121 The presence of English colonials from the early 1800s led to changes in the occupance patterns of the five Nilgiri ethnic groups. Through several laws and the Final Land Settlement of 1881-84, whereby people were forced into ownership of taxable acres, the English between 1874 and 1884 ended production of salable or barterable opium and poppy

121 M needs by Badagas and Kotas, greatly reduced gathering and hunting by Irulas and Kurumbas, and prohibited any type of shifting agriculture on land not owned by Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, and Kurumbas. As Englishmen established plantations, an ever increasing number of Badagas, Irulas, and Kurumbas sought employment on them. Introduced plants adopted by farmers led to some of the most significant changes. Upper Nilgiri Badagas and Kotas in this century abandoned plows and became commercial farmers producing potatoes and other "English" vegetables. Members of both ethnic groups also started growing coffee, tea, temperate berries and fruits, acacias, and eucalypti. The Irulas, Kurumbas, and Wynaad Badagas and Kotas planted introduced plants in their gardens. As to be expected, it was the Badagas who took the most advantage of new opportunities. Besides becoming the leading commercial farmers, they educated themselves more than members of other ethnic groups and are now employed in many outside positions not related to the plantation industry.

000 After English administrators departed in 1947, the Madras Government aided Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas. More substantial houses have been built for them. Roads have been constructed or improved to facilitate access to their communities. Attempts to rejuvenate Kota trades and to convert Todas into farmers have met with some success, but attempts to convert old Kurumba trades into money-making enterprises have failed.

121 M8 Finally, despite changes since 1800, survival of old ways is striking. This is illustrated by the following examples: Badaga houses are built with different materials now, but many apparently

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

APPENDIX B

THE INTRODUCTION AND SPREAD OF PLANTS

137 Australian trees. For purposes of afforestation, beautification, and profits obtained through firewood sales, acacia and eucalyptus species were first introduced into the Nilgiris, and thereby India, during the mid-1800s. Acacias were later planted in large numbers for their bark tannin, and eucalypti became a source of eucalyptus oil extracted from leaves. Acacia dealbata F.V.M. and A. melanoxylon R. Br. were possibly brought by Dun in the early 1830s. King is also said to have introduced these two species around 1833 (Price 1908: 122). By 1860 both Acacia mollissima Willd. and A. decurrens Willd. were growing on the Nilgiris (Nair 1953: 34). Near Billakombai, in 1857, the first stand of an imported Australian species, A. melanoxylon, was planted by the Madras State Government on four acres of grassland. Through continuous planting this stand was enlarged, so that by late 1859 there were some 200,000 trees consisting mainly of A. melanoxylon and another acacia species (not identified), but small numbers of Indian Cedrus deodara Loud. and Pinus longifolia Roxb. were also grown (Cleghorn 1861: 172, 174, 185). Attempts to grow the two latter species have since been completely abandoned. A. mollissima was eventually found to be the most suitable acacia for the Nilgiris and is the one most frequently planted now. In 1834 Cotton grew the first blue gums (Eucalyptus globulus Labill.) on the Nilgiris, and in 1856 General Morgan established the first stand of them. After 1857, when sale of blue gums was started at the Ootacamund Botanical Gardens, they became the common, widely distributed eucalyptus species (Hutchins 1883: 1).

175 177 Subtropical and tropical plants. It is impossible to tell when most foreign subtropical and tropical plants were introduced. Grain amaranth, papaya, and tapioca are three plants which may have spread rapidly after their introduction by Europeans coming to Malabar. As amaranths (also grown in temperate areas) are cultivated in the Himalayas, their use possibly spread northward from the Nilgiris via the Eastern Ghats (Nakao and Sauer 1952-53, 2: 141-146). The bananas, jacks, limes, and mandarin oranges grown by natives in the early 1800s may have been associated with Nilgiri agriculture for a long period (Buchanan 1870, 1: 402; Harkness 1832: 90). Baikie (1834: 36) saw citrons and loquats growing at Dimbhatti and Billical. Spread in the use of some plants initially grown at Burliar and Kalhatti experimental gardens doubtlessly occurred. When Cleghorn visited Thomas' Burliar 177 garden in 1857, he saw allspice (Pimenta officinalis L.), cinnamon (Cinnamomum zeylanicum Bl.), clove (Eugenia caryophylata Thunb.), cacao (Theobroma cacao L.), jack, lime, loquat, mangosteen (Garcinia mangostana L.), nutmeg (Myristica fragrans Houtt.), orange (probably

177 Citrus reticulata Blanco obtained from natives), passion fruit, peach, pineapple, pummelo, rose apple (Eugenia jambos L.), and vanilla (Vanilla planifolia Andr.) plants (Cleghorn 1857: 303). Markham introduced cherimoyas into India in 1860, when he visited the Kalhatti governmental branch garden (since abandoned). Several plants growing there were also grown at Burliar, but no others are mentioned (Markham 1862: 372). Cherimoyas are now frequently grown in Irula and Kurumba gardens.

The three main plantation plants. The three most important plantation plants of the Nilgiris are cinchona, coffee, and tea (mainly Cinchona officinalis Hk., C. ledgeriana Moens, C. calisaya Wedd., C. succirubra Pavon and hybrids; Coffea arabica L. and C. canephora Pierre; Camellia sinensis O. Ktze var. sinensis and var. assamica). By 1895 they covered more than 50 percent of the cultivated land in the Nilgiri District, and acreages devoted to the latter two crops have constantly increased since then (Benson 1895: 430).

The cultivation of cinchona was started in 1860, when Sir Clements Markham brought plants and seeds from Peru to the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund, and thus gave the Nilgiris the distinction of being the original home of cinchona in India (Markham 1862: 572). The stock brought by Markham was supplemented mostly by plants and seeds from his assistants in Peru, seeds from the botanist Pritchett, and exchange of cinchona plants with the Dutch Government in Java. During 1862-63 government cinchona stands were established on three areas and a fourth stand was started in 1868 (Francis 1908: 183-184; Sweny 1953: 21). By 1884 these had become four government plantations with over one million trees covering 2,610 acres of land (Hunter 1886, 10: 316). Private entrepreneurs undertook the cultivation of cinchona, especially in the Wynaad, but a disastrous drop in prices during the 1880s ended a brief boom period (Fletcher 1911: 42). Thus, 10,373 acres of cinchona listed in the 1895 Nilgiri census were either an exaggeration or chiefly in abandoned plantations (Benson 1895: 430). Afterwards, cinchona cultivation and processing remained essentially in the hands of the Madras State Government. By 1960 cinchona trees covered 2,123 acres, a lesser amount than in 1884 (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 390).

175 According to folklore, coffee was first brought from Mecca to India in 1600 by a Moslem pilgrim called Baba-uddin. The Bababudin
177 Hills in Mysore, named after him, were a center of coffee cultivation when the English overcame Tipu Sultan in 1799. During that year the East India Company started an experimental coffee garden at Anjarakandy, near Tellicherry. Plants taken from there were planted by Bevan at Manantody, Malabar Wynaad, in 1825 (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: xxxi-xxxii). Coffee growing may then have spread eastward into the Nilgiri Wynaad. During 1838 Dawson started the first Nilgiri coffee plantation near Coonoor, and two other plantations
177 were opened during 1840 in the Kotagiri area (Athrey 1953: 11). In 1860 Markham noted that there were 100 acres of coffee on Dawson's plantation, but the nearby 200-acre plantation with 250,000 coffee

bushes belonging to Stanes was the largest in the area. The Wynaad was a leading coffee region by 1860, with 7,358 acres under coffee owned by Europeans and 4,028 acres owned by native cultivators (Markham 1862: 373, 376). In 1960 there were 17,158 acres of coffee on the Nilgiris, 8,187 acres in the Nilgiri Wynaad, and 15,119 acres in the Malabar Wynaad (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 351, 390).

A step toward tea planting on the Nilgiris was taken in 1832, when Surgeon Christie ordered some tea plants from China. Christie died in the same year, but the plants which arrived were distributed for planting. During 1834 Lord Bentinck, Viceroy of India, sent a commission to China for some tea. A few plants grown from seeds brought back from China were planted in 1835 at Ketti and elsewhere (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: xxxiii). Fortune, during 1854, brought some tea seeds off recently imported bushes from China and gave the seeds to Henry Mann. The planted seeds formed the nucleus of the first tea plantation near Coonoor, and in 1858 Cleghorn noted the presence of about 2,000 vigorous tea plants on the plantation (Cleghorn 1861: 18). By 1883 there were 78 Nilgiri tea plantations and a total of 3,322 acres of bearing tea (Hunter 1886, 10: 315). In 1960 tea covered 32,781 acres on the Nilgiris and 14,660 acres in the Nilgiri Wynaad (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 390). Assam (var. assamica) rather than China (var. sinensis) tea has, during this century, become the dominant type in southern India and the Nilgiris. The importance of this variety was not realized in Bentinck's time.

Temperate crops and trees. John Sullivan started construction of the first Englishman's house on the Nilgiris in 1819. Shortly thereafter he must have initiated the growth of temperate vegetables and fruits at Dimbhatti, near Kotagiri, for John Jones in 1821 wrote that "European vegetables attain to a high degree of perfection retaining all the original flavour and yielding abundance of the first seed. . . . Of European fruits, strawberries, peaches, and apples have been tried" (Price 1908: 124). Sullivan's gardener grew some large potatoes in 1824, and during 1826 Hough saw beets, cabbages, radishes, and turnips grown by the same man (Price 1908: 126). Baikie (1834: 35-36), Jervis (1834: 40), and Mignon (1834: 83) noted these plants: artichoke, asparagus, beet, cabbage, carrot, cauliflower, celery, kidney bean (Phaseolus vulgaris L.), kale, leek, lettuce, parsnip, pea, potato, pumpkin, radish, savoy (type of cabbage), spinach, tomato, and turnip. Baikie recorded that great quantities of high quality potatoes were being grown, while tomatoes were rare. He also saw apple, nectarine, peach, plum trees, and blackberry, raspberry, and strawberry plants. Ford (1851: 39) stated that the Nilgiris had become famous for their potatoes, which, along with beets, cabbages, cauliflowers, celery, and peas, were easily obtainable in the market. In 1843 Cotton brought Chinese pears to the Nilgiris upon his return from China, and this fruit is now the most frequently grown temperate fruit on the Nilgiris (Price 1908: 125). Englishmen also introduced grains

175 177

and maize. In 1832 barley, oats, and wheat were sown at Ketti (Francis 1908: 203). Sullivan had grown barley, oats, vetches, and wheat, but Indians did not take to the cultivation of oats and vetches (Metz 1864: 152). Robertson (1875: 15, 18, 20) reported that Badagas were growing six-rowed barley, naked European wheat said to have been introduced by Sullivan, and Scotch two-rowed barley brought by Honeywell of the Arven Brewery (founded in 1857). Maize recently brought to the upper Nilgiris was being raised in their kitchen gardens. However, Kurumbas grew maize previously (Shortt 1868: 49). As to whether or not Europeans introduced broad beans (Vicia faba L.) and buckwheat (Fagopyrum sagittatum Gilib.) is debatable. Frequent use of broad beans in Badaga ritual indicates their early presence on the Nilgiris. Buckwheat was flourishing in 1875, and there is no reason why it should not have spread from inner Asia to the Nilgiris long before Englishmen arrived.